

OTTOMANS – CRIMEA – JOCHIDS

Studies in Honour of Mária Ivanics

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Edited by István Zimonyi

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Cover illustration:
Calligraphy of Raniya Muhammad Abd al-Halim

Text:
And say, “O my Lord! advance me in knowledge” (Q 20, 114)

Letters and Words. Exhibition of Arabic Calligraphy. Cairo 2011, 72.

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Contents

Preface	9
Klára Agyagási К вопросу о хронологии изменения $-d(r)- > -\delta(r)- > -y(r)-$ в волжско-булгарских диалектах	13
László Balogh Notes to the History of the Hungarians in the 10 th Century	23
Hendrik Boeschoten Bemerkungen zu der neu gefundenen Dede Korkut-Handschrift, mit einer Übersetzung der dreizehnten Geschichte	35
Csáki Éva Kaukázusi török népek kálváriája a népdalok tükrében	47
Éva Csató and Lars Johanson On Discourse Types and Clause Combining in Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmā.....	59
Balázs Danko A Misunderstood Passage of Qādir ‘Ali-beg Ĵālāyirī’s <i>Ĵāmī at-Tawārīḫ</i>	71
Géza Dávid The Formation of the <i>sancak</i> of Kırka (Krka) and its First <i>begs</i>	81
Mihály Dobrovits Pofu Qatun and the Last Decade of the Türk Empire.....	97
Pál Fodor A Descendant of the Prophet in the Hungarian Marches Seyyid Ali and the Ethos of Gaza.....	101
Tasin Gemil The Tatars in Romanian Historiography	111
Csaba Göncöl Remarks on the <i>Čingiz-nāmā</i> of Ötämiš Hājjī.....	123
Funda Güven Imagined Turks: The Tatar as the Other in Halide Edip’s Novels	133
Murat Işık The Animal Names in the Book of Leviticus of the Gözleve Bible (1841). Part I: Mammal, Insect and Reptile Species.....	145
Henryk Jankowski The Names of Professions in Historical Turkic Languages of the Crimea	165

Mustafa S. Kaçalın	
Joannes Lipa: Türkçe Hayvan Masalları	181
Bayarma Khabtagaeva	
On Some Taboo Words in Yeniseian	199
Éva Kincses-Nagy	
Nine Gifts.....	215
Raushangul Mukusheva	
The Presence of Shamanism in Kazakh and Hungarian Folklore	229
Sándor Papp	
The Prince and the Sultan. The Sublime Porte's Practice of Confirming the Power of Christian Vassal Princes Based on the Example of Transylvania.....	239
Benedek Péri	
Places Full of Secrets in 16 th Century Istanbul: the Shops of the <i>ma'cūncıs</i>	255
Claudia Römer	
“Faḳīr olub perākende olmağa yüz tutmışlar” the Ottoman Struggle against the Displacement of Subjects in the Early Modern Period	269
András Róna-Tas	
A Birthday Present for the Khitan Empress	281
Uli Schamiloglu	
Was the Chinggisid Khan an Autocrat? Reflections on the Foundations of Chinggisid Authority	295
Hajnalka Tóth	
Entstehung eines auf Osmanisch verfassten Friedenskonzepts Ein Beitrag zu der Vorgeschichte des Friedens von Eisenburg 1664.....	311
Вадим Трепавлов	
Московский <i>Чаган хан</i>	325
Беата Варга	
«Крымская альтернатива» – военно-политический союз Богдана Хмельницкого с Ислам-Гиреем III (1649–1653)	331
Bariş Yılmaz	
Deconstruction of the Traditional Hero Type in Murathan Mungan's <i>Cenk Hikayeleri</i>	339
Илья Зайцев – Решат Алиев	
Фрагмент ярлыка (<i>мюльк-наме</i>) крымского хана Сахиб-Гирея	355
István Zimonyi	
Etil in the <i>Dāftār-i Čingiz-nāmā</i>	363

Preface

Mária Ivanics was born on 31 August 1950 in Budapest. After completing her primary and secondary education, she studied Russian Language and Literature, History and Turkology (Ottoman Studies). She received her MA degree in 1973. In the following year she was invited by the chair of the Department of Altaic Studies, Professor András Róna-Tas, to help to build up the then new institution at the József Attila University (Szeged). She taught at that university and its legal successors until her retirement. First, she worked as an assistant lecturer, then as a senior lecturer after defending her doctoral dissertation. Between 1980–86, she and his family stayed in Vienna (Austria), where she performed postdoctoral studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the University of Vienna. She obtained the “candidate of the sciences” degree at the Hungarian Academy of Science in 1992, and her dissertation – The Crimean Khanate in the Fifteen Years’ War 1593–1606 – was published in Hungarian. From 1993 to 2009 she worked as an associate professor. Her interest gradually turned to the study of the historical heritage of the successor states of the Golden Horde, especially to publishing the sources of the nomadic oral historiography of the Volga region. As a part of international collaboration, she prepared the critical edition of one of the basic internal sources of the Khanate of Kasimov, the Genghis Legend, which she published with professor Mirkasym Usmanov in 2002: (*Das Buch der Dschingis-Legende. (Däftär-i Dschingis-nāmā) 1. Vorwort, Einführung, Transkription, Wörterbuch, Faksimiles. Szeged: University of Szeged, 2002. 324 p. (Studia Uralo-Altaica 44).*)¹ In 2008, Mária Ivanics was appointed to the head of the department and at the same time she became the leader of the Turkological Research Group of the Hungarian Academy operating at the department. In 2009, she defended her dissertation entitled “The Nomadic Prince of the Genghis Legend”, and received the title, “doctor of sciences” from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. It is an extremely careful historical-philological study of the afore-mentioned Book of Genghis Khan, published in Budapest in 2017 as a publication of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences entitled *Exercise of power on the steppe: The nomadic world of Genghis-nāmā*. She was the head of the Department of Altaic Studies until 2015. Between 2012 and 2017, she headed the project “The Cultural Heritage of the Turkic Peoples” as the leader of the MTA–SZTE Turkology Research Group operating within the Department of Altaic Studies. She has been studying the diplomatic relations between the Transylvanian princes and the Crimean Tatars and working on the edition of the diplomas issued by them.

¹ <https://ojs.bibl.u-szeged.hu/index.php/stualtaica/article/view/13615/13471>

Her scholarly work is internationally outstanding, well known and appreciated everywhere. Her studies have been published in Russian, German, Turkish, Hungarian and English.²

She actively involved in scientific public life. She has been a member of the board of the Kőrösi Csoma Society, a member of the Oriental Studies Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the Public Body of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. From 2005 she was the editor and co-editor of different monograph series (Kőrösi Csoma Library, and *Studia uralo-altaica*. From 2008 to 2017, she was the vice-president of the Hungarian–Turkish Friendship Society. Her outstanding work has been rewarded with a number of prizes and scholarships: in 1994 she received the Géza Kuun Prize, in 1995 the Mellon Scholarship (Turkey). She received a Széchenyi Professorial Scholarship between 1998 and 2001 and István Széchenyi Scholarship between 2003 and 2005, the Ferenc Szakály Award in 2007 and the Award for Hungarian Higher Education in 2008.

In addition to her scientific carrier, she has given lectures and led seminars on the history and culture of the Altaic speaking peoples, she has taught modern and historical Turkic languages to her students. She has supervised several thesis and dissertations of Hungarian and foreign BA, MA and PhD students. Through establishing a new school of thought, she has built a bridge between Ottoman studies and research on Inner Eurasian nomads.

Szeged, 2020.

István Zimonyi

² Complete list of her publication:
<https://m2.mtmt.hu/gui2/?type=authors&mode=browse&sel=10007783&paging=1;1000>

Tabula Gratulatoria

<i>Almási Tibor</i>	<i>Hoppál Krisztina</i>
<i>Apatóczy Ákos Bertalan</i>	<i>Hunyadi Zsolt</i>
<i>Baski Imre</i>	<i>Károly László</i>
<i>Bíró Bernadett</i>	<i>Keller László</i>
<i>Csernus Sándor</i>	<i>Kocsis Mihály</i>
<i>Csikó Anna</i>	<i>Kósa Gábor</i>
<i>Czentnár András</i>	<i>Kovács Nándor Erik</i>
<i>Dallos Edina</i>	<i>Kovács Szilvia</i>
<i>Deák Ágnes</i>	<i>Kövér Lajos</i>
<i>Emel Dev</i>	<i>Molnár Ádám</i>
<i>Felföldi Szabolcs</i>	<i>Polgár Szabolcs</i>
<i>Fodor István</i>	<i>Sándor Klára</i>
<i>Font Márta</i>	<i>Sipőcz Katalin</i>
<i>Gyenge Zoltán</i>	<i>Szántó Richárd</i>
<i>Hamar Imre</i>	<i>Szeverényi Sándor</i>
<i>Hazai Cecília</i>	<i>Vásáry István</i>
<i>Hazai Kinga</i>	<i>Vér Márton</i>

К вопросу о хронологии изменения $-d(r)- > -\delta(r)- > -y(r)-$ в волжско-булгарских диалектах

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Дебреценский университет

Изменение $-d(r)- > -y(r)-$ в чувашском языке является позиционным вариантом изменения западно-древнетюркского (з-д-т.) интервокального $-d-$ через $-\delta-$ в огурских предшественниках чувашского языка. Такое объяснение было предложено А. Рона-Ташем в 1978 г. (Róna-Tas 1978: 84–85). Результат этого изменения встречается в следующих примерах исконно тюркского происхождения:

з-д-т/ог. $*adg\ddot{ir} > *a\delta\ddot{y}i\ r >>$ чув. $\dot{y}\ddot{a}r > \ddot{a}y\ddot{a}r$ ‘жеребец’¹ ср. в-д-т $adg\ddot{ir}$ ‘stallion’ (Clauson 47)

з-д-т/ог. $*ad\ddot{ir}- > *a\delta\ddot{ir}- >>$ чув. $u\ddot{y}\ddot{a}r-$ ‘отделять’ ср. в-д-т $ad\ddot{ir}-$ ‘to separate’ (Clauson 66)

з-д-т/ог. $*kad\ddot{ir} > *ka\delta\ddot{ir} >>$ чув. $\chi u\ddot{y}\ddot{a}r$ ‘кора’ ср. в-д-т $qad\ddot{iz}$ ‘кора’ (ДТС 403)

з-д-т/ог. $*kudrak > *ku\delta ray > *ku\ddot{y}ra >$ чув. $\chi\ddot{u}re$ ‘хвост’ ср. в-д-т $qudruq$ ‘хвост’ (ДТС 463)

з-д-т/ог. $*sedr\ddot{a}k > *se\delta r\ddot{a}y >>$ чув. $sayra$ ‘редкий’ ср. в-д-т $se\delta r\ddot{a}k$ ‘редкий’ (ДТС 494)

з-д-т/ог. $*s\ddot{id}ir- > *s\ddot{i}\delta ir- >>$ чув. $\dot{s}\ddot{a}y\ddot{a}r-$ ‘сдирать’ ср. в-д-т $s\ddot{i}\delta ir-$ ‘сдирать’ (ДТС 502)

Об этом изменении чувашского языка существовало и другое мнение, высказанное Й. Бенцингом (Benzing 1959: 713). Бенцинг трактовал его как пример перехода $-d- > -y-$, но он считал цитированные выше чувашские слова прямыми заимствованиями из неназванного общетюркского источника.² На самом деле результат перехода $-d- > -y-$ регулярно отражается в волжско-

¹ Чувашские данные взяты из словаря Скворцова (Скворцов 1982).

² Общетюркским источником непосредственного заимствования могли быть предположены среднекыпчакские диалекты Волго-Камья.

кыпчакских соответствиях этих слов, ведь изменение *-d-* > *-y-* является характерной особенностью кыпчакских языков:

в-д-т *adgür* ‘stallion’ (Clauson 47) >> тат.диал. (м.-кар.) *aygür* ‘жеребец’ (ТТЗДС: 27), башк. *aygür* ‘жеребец’ (Ураксин 1996)

в-д-т *adür* ‘to separate’ (Clauson 66) >> тат.диал. (нокр., глз., перм., т.-я-крш., карс.) *ayür* ‘разделить’ (ТТЗДС: 30), башк. *ayür* ‘разделять’ (Ураксин 1996)

в-д-т *qadiz* ‘кора’ (ДТС 403) >> башк. *qayür* ‘кора’ (Ураксин 1996)

в-д-т *qudruq* ‘хвост’ (ДТС 463) >> тат. *köyräk* ‘хвост’ (ТРС), башк. *qöyrök* ‘хвост’ (Ураксин 1996)

в-д-т *seðrāk* ‘редкий’ (ДТС 494) >> тат. *sirāk* ‘редкий’ (ТРС), башк. *hirāk* ‘редкий’ (Ураксин 1996)

в-д-т *sīðir* ‘сдирать’ (ДТС 502) >> тат.диал. (мам., кмшл.) *süyür* (ТТЗДС: 591)

Мнение Бенцинга разделяла Л. С. Левитская (Левитская 1966/2014: 193–94), а позицию Рона-Таша приняла я (Agyagási 2019: 88–89). Доказательной силой для раннего протекания изменения кыпчакского *-d-* > *-y-* для Бенцинга и Левитской мог послужить тот факт, что результат этого изменения отражается регулярно в Кодексе Куманикусе, в среднекыпчакском памятнике первой половины XIV века (см. Gabain 1959: 47), и так, в начальном периоде волжско-булгарско-кыпчакских контактов, булгарам уже возможно было копировать кыпчакские слова, содержащие *-y-* на месте древнетюркского *-d-*.

Убедительным для меня в пользу внутреннего происхождения *-d(r)-* > *-ð(r)-* > *-y(r)-* показалась сопоставительная реконструкция тюркского слова *qudruq* ‘хвост’ и среднемонгольского заимствования *γoiqan* ‘красивый’ (Róna-Tas 1982: 95) для начала среднетюркского периода. Рона-Таш утверждал, что изменение *-d-* > *-ð-* > *-y-* в слове *qudruq* должно было произойти до сужения гласного первого слога (*o* > *u*, *ui* > *ü*), то есть, по его мнению, до X–XI-ого века: *qudruq* > *quyruq*. Сужение *o* > *u* отражается в реципиентной форме среднемонгольского слова (*γoiqan* → **χiuχan*). Сопоставление ранне-среднетюркской и среднемонгольской формы показывает наличие дифтонга *ui* в обоих словах (*qudruq* > *quyruq* > *quiruq*, *χiuχan* > *χuiχan*), что является исходным условием для образования «нового» гласного *ü* в чувашском, но это произошло только в поздне-среднечувашском периоде (Agyagási 2019: 239–41). Рона-Таш в этой своей статье выделил 10–11 век как нижнюю хронологическую границу протекания изменения *-d(r)-* > *-ð(r)-* > *-y-* в предшественнике чувашского языка. В соответствии с этим позже он делал попытку определить и верхнюю границу этого изменения концом IX-го века, обнаруживая результат этого изменения в одной западно-древнетюркской

лексической копии венгерского языка (венг. *szirony* ‘thin hide rope, strap (used for embroidery or as a whip)’ следующим образом:

з-д-т/ог. **sīðrum* > *sīyrum* (ср. в-д-т *sidrīm* ‘a strip, a leater strap < **sīd-* ‘to come away in layers’) → древневенг. *siyrum* > *sirum* > *sirom* > *siron* > *siron* ‘thin hide rope, strap (used for embroidery or as a whip)’ (Róna-Tas & Berta 2011: 802–805)

Теоретически такая реконструкция может быть правильной, но нужно отметить, что в древневенгерских письменных памятниках нигде не сохранилась форма с сочетанием *-yr-* в середине слова, а тюркский задний *i* адаптировался бы в древневенгерском передним *i* без присутствия *y*.

Изучая источники истории чувашского языка, я полагаю, что для определения абсолютной хронологии сужения гласного *o* > *u* не имеется единого ответа, поскольку в разных территориальных вариантах волжско-булгарского языка этот процесс произошел в разное время и заканчивался по-разному (Agyagási 2019: 123). Но Рона-Таш полностью прав в том, что ко времени монгольского нашествия и появления среднемонгольских лексических копий в чувашском языке оба изменения (*o* > *u*, *-d(r)-* > *-ð(r)-* > *-y-*) уже были завершены. Об этом свидетельствуют некоторые древнерусские прямые и одно арабо-персидское опосредованное заимствование в ранне-среднечувашском (рсч.) предшественнике чувашского языка:

др. русск. *тѣхъ* ‘мох’ > *тох* → волжско-булг. **тох* > **mux*³ > рсч. **mux* > *mūk* > анатрийск. *māx* ‘то же’ (Адягаши 2005: 149)

др. русск. *kudra* ‘вьющиеся или завитые волосы’ → рсч. **kütre* > *kütre* > анатрийск. *kētre*, *kātra*, вирьяльск. *kōtra* ‘кудри, локон и локоны; перен. пышный, ветвистый’ (Адягаши 2005: 134–35)⁴

ар. *qudra* ‘Fähigkeit, Kraft, Macht’ → новоперс. *qudrat* ‘то же’ → среднемишарск. **qudrat* > **küdrät*⁵ → рсч. **kütret* > **kütret* > анатрийск. *kētret* ‘чудодейственная сила’ (Schermer 1977: 81)

3 Здесь возможен и такой вариант реконструкции, по которому древнерусское слово было заимствовано тогда, когда в волжско-булгарском предшественнике чувашского языка гласный *o* уже совпал с *u*, и древнерусский *o* был субституирован через *u*.

4 Критерием для ранне-чувашского датирования копирования данного слова является передняя артикуляция реципиентной формы русского слова с задним вокализмом (см. подробнее Agyagási 2014: 14). Второй критерий в пользу того, что русское слово попало в волжско-булгарский предшественник чувашского языка в ранне-среднечувашский период, это участие гласного первого слога в процессе редукции гласных верхнего подъема после монгольского нашествия, как это отражается и в адаптации среднемонгольского слова *quda* → чув. *χāta* ‘suitor’ (Róna-Tas 1982: 112–13).

М. Эрдал (Erdal 1993: 141), анализируя фонологические особенности языка волжско-булгарских эпитафий (письменных памятников волжско-булг.2 диалекта), тоже приходит к выводу, что во время возникновения этих памятников (1281–1361 гг.) в данном диалекте булгар *-d-* уже не существовал. Этот звук был субституирован в заимствованиях через *-t-*, как показывает написание арабского имени *Zubaydah* в виде *Sübeyte*.

Что касается третьего диалекта волжско-булгарского языка, пример, содержащий изменение структуры с сочетанием древнетюркского *-d(r)-* (> древнерусские *-δ(r)-* > *-y-*, до последнего времени не был обнаружен.

Ниже представлен историко-этимологический анализ марийского слова, обращающего на себя внимание именно присутствием в нем результата изменения волжско-булгарского типа *-d(r)-* > *-δ(r)-* > *-y-*.

В диалектологическом словаре марийского языка, составленном Э. Беке, в словарной статье *kuḍur* ‘lockig, krausig, krumm’ (Beke 1998: 998) встречаются следующие данные: Р В М *kuḍur*, U CÜ J V *ku-ḍâr*, СК Щ ЧN J V *küḍür*, ЈР *küḍür*, К *kâjâr* ‘то же’. Данное слово за исключением горномарийского варианта, записанного в Козьмодемьянске (К), является непосредственной копией русского диалектного слова *кудерь* ‘курчавая прядь волос, локон, букля, завиток, витушек’ (Даль т.2. 211). Морфологические варианты русского слова широко распространены в диалектах тюркских языков Поволжья, ср. чув. анатрийск. *kětre*, *kătra*, вирьялский *kōtra*, тат. лиал. (нгб.-крш.) *gödrä*, (менз.) *ködräç*, миш. (буг.) *ködrä*, башк.диал. (Гайна) *gödrä* ‘то же’ (Адягаши 2005: 134–135). Тюркские формы все являются заимствованиями после монгольского нашествия, ведь в них оригинальный древнетюркский *-d-* уже не существовал. В ранне-среднечувашском и среднекыпчакских диалектах этот звук был субституирован через *-t-*, который позже частично (в чувашском) или полностью (в кыпчакских диалектах) озвончался.

В случае марийского языка Берецки (Bereczki 1994: 34–40) на основе историко-фонетического анализа марийского лексического состава финно-угорского происхождения пришел к выводу, по которому в поздне-прамарийском *-δ-* существовал в результате изменения протоуральского сочетания **rt* > **rδ*, а также в суффиксах в интервокальном положении.

5 В этом случае налицо среднемишарское опосредование при заимствовании новоперсидского слова, ведь только в мишарском диалекте произносился нейтральный *k* по отношению к противопоставлению передней и задней артикуляции, что является сигнификантным критерием различения мишарского от центрального диалекта татарского языка (Бурганова–Махмутова 1962: 10–13). Благодаря этой особенности мишарского диалекта данное слово могло появляться передней артикуляцией в среднечувашском. (В центральном диалекте татарская форма хранит заднюю артикуляцию новоперсидского источника, ср. *qödrät* ‘могущество, сила’.) Среднемишарская форма этого слова опять в ранне-среднечувашский до реализации редукции гласного первого слога.

Поздне-прамарийский *-δ-* в последствии сохранился в марийских диалектах. Примером послужат следующие слова финно-угорского происхождения:

мар. диал. Р В М *kūdūr*, U C *kūdâr*, МК *kūdūr*, Č J V *kũdŭr*, К *kəðar* ‘Birkhuhn’ < поздне-прамарийск. **kūdīr* (Bereczki 2013: 99)

мар. диал. Р В М C Č JT *erðe*, UP USj US *erðâ*. UJ *örðâ*, К, JO V *erðâ* ‘Oberschenkel’, Р В М V *örðöž*, МК *örðŭž*, UJ C JT *örðâž*, Č JO K *örðâž* ‘Seite’ < поздне-прамарийск. **erðz*; **örðiz* (Bereczki 2013: 16–17)

мар. диал. Р В М UJ C JT *šorðo*, МК *šorðŭ*, UP *šorðâ*, Č *šarðe*, JO V К *šarðâ* ‘‘Elentier, Rentier’ < поздне-прамарийск. **šorðâ* (Bereczki 2013: 247)

мар. диал. Р В М *šūdūr*, МК *šūdŭr*, U Cŭ CK *šūdâr*, Č JT JO V *šŭdŭr*, К *šəðar* ‘Spindel’ < поздне-прамарийск. **šūdīr* (Bereczki 2013: 261)

Как видно из данных, горномарийский вариант слова *kudur* ‘кудри’, содержащий согласный *-y-* на месте ожидаемого *-δ-* (К *kâjâr*), является таким отступлением от общей субдиалектной нормы, которое объясняется не на основании закономерностей марийской фонологии. К тому же форма *kâjâr* не может быть опиской, потому что другой независимый источник марийского диалектного лексикона, собранный и изданный финскими учеными, в словарной статье слова *kudâr* ‘lockig’ содержит тот же самый горномарийский фонетический вариант: *kâjâr* (Moisio–Saarinen 2008: 283). Остается трактовать эту форму как второй член двойного заимствования русского слова марийскими диалектами. (Двойные заимствования из русского языка уже известны в марийской лексикологии, см. подробнее Agyagási 2017.)

В конкретном случае это значит предположение того, что русское слово, кроме непосредственного копирования, попало в марийский язык (в предшественник горномарийского говора западного диалекта), к тому же через опосредование другого языка, в другое время.

При определении языка-посредника нужно учитывать географическое расположение горного наречия марийского языка. Это именно тот край, где, по сообщению анонимного автора Казанской истории (см. Адрианова–Перетц 1954: 85–86), в 16 веке еще обитал народ «нижняя черемиса». Язык этого народа неизвестен, но его следы как субстратные элементы сохранились в марийском (иногда в чувашском и татарском) языках. Таким субстратным элементом из ниже-черемисского языка является марийское диалектное слово Р В Bj М U C Č *artana*·, JT *arta-na*, JO V *ärtämä* ‘Stoß, Klafter (Holz)’ (Beke 1: 70), К *a-rtém* ‘große Stangen’ (Beke 1: 71, см. еще Moisio–Saarinen 2008: 17), содержащее западно-балтийскую глагольную основу **ařdy-* ‘hew, cleave’ (см. подробнее Agyagási 2019: 270–272). Все формы этого слова в марийском свидетельствуют о том, что язык народа «нижняя черемиса» имел сочетание *-rd-* в середине слова, которое было сохранено марийскими диалектами как *-rt-*,

а не *-yt-*. Это значит, что субстратный язык «нижняя черемиса» не мог опосредовать русское слово *кудёрь* с согласным *-у-* в середине слова.

Другая возможность для определения языка-посредника — это предположение о присутствии среди носителей западного диалекта марийского языка другого, остаточного, субстратного волжско-булгарского диалекта, не совпадающего ни с предком чувашского (волжско-булг.3), ни с представителями центрального диалекта волжских булгар (волжско-булг.2). Таким диалектом может выступать первый волжско-булгарский диалект (волжско-булг.1). Носители этого диалекта до монгольского нашествия обитали в соседстве пермских народов, а после появления в Волго-Камье монголов они убегали от них не вместе, в организованной форме, а рассеивались на большой территории. Для этого диалекта была характерна в первом слоге очень ранняя редукция гласных верхнего подъема, что было обусловлено местом ударения на последнем слоге (см. подробнее Agyagási 2019: 162–168). В марийских диалектах сохранились слова, отражающие эту особенность, см. реализацию з-д-т/ог. **bura* ‘домашнее пиво’ в западном диалекте марийского языка (Agyagási 2019: 123), или з-д-т/ог. *bürti* ‘зерно’ (Agyagási 2020: 12–13). Этот диалект имел ранние контакты с северными древнерусскими диалектами, о чем свидетельствует наличие древнерусских редуцированных гласных на месте в-д-т **и* в двух волжско-булгарских заимствованиях древнерусского языка (см. подробнее Agyagási 2019: 163).

Древнерусское слово *кудёрь* восходит к праславянскому **kǫderь* (Трубачев 1985: 51–52). Оно как двухсложная структура могло существовать в древнерусском языке после падения редуцированных. В северных диалектах древнерусского языка это означает начало 13-го века. Слово [*kud'er*'] могло заимствоваться первым волжско-булгарским диалектом в форме **kayer*. Фонетическая характеристика древнерусского [k] определила переднюю артикуляцию волжско-булгарского слова. В начале 13-го века оригинальные редуцированные этого диалекта в первом слоге уже потеряли признак лабиального образования и имели всего лишь ряд как единственный дифференцирующий признак (Agyagási 2019: 166), поэтому в первом слоге уместно ожидать гласный *ə*. Изменение *-d(r)-* > *-δ(r)-* > *-y-* во время копирования этого слова должно было находиться в последней фазе.

Волжско-булгарское слово **kayer* — после переселения из-за монгольского нашествия остатков носителей первого волжско-булгарского диалекта на левобережье Волги — могло попасть в один местный вариант географически разложимого позднепрамарийского языка, являвшегося предшественником горномарийского наречия. Однако волжско-булгарское слово не соответствовало позднепрамарийским структурным нормам. По этим нормам двухсложные структуры со вторым закрытым слогом могли иметь только редуцированный гласный во втором слоге, как например **kurâk* (Bereczki 1992: 24, № 113), **kuwâl* (Bereczki 1992: 25, № 120), **šüðâr* (Bereczki 1992: 71, № 381), **tuγâr* (Bereczki 1992: 79, № 427) и др. Далее, позднепрамарийский язык

имел редуцированный гласный только в первом слоге, и этот звук являлся гласным заднего ряда (см. подробнее Agyagási 2019: 202). Все это означало, что адаптации в марийском потребовали изменения. Гласный *e* второго слога слова **kəyer* перешел в *ê* по структурным причинам, а редуцированный гласный переднего ряда был субституирован в марийском редуцированным заднего ряда: **kəyer* → **kəyêr*.

На основании вышеприведенного анализа можно прийти к следующему выводу: для определения верхней хронологической границы изменения *-d(r)-* > *-δ(r)-* > *-y-* все еще не имеются однозначные данные, но при выделении нижней границы можно сделать некоторые уточнения. Процесс двухступенчатого исторического изменения древнерусского слова *кудѣрь* от древнерусской исходной формы до освоения ее волжско-булгарского варианта позднепрамарийским предшественником горномарийского говора показывает, что изменение *-d(r)-* > *-δ(r)-* > *-y-* и окончательное исчезновение фонемы *-δ-* из волжско-булгарского фонемного состава завершилось непосредственно до монгольского нашествия на оригинальной территории трех волжско-булгарских диалектов. Это изменение является последним звеном преобразования западно-древнетюркской консонантной системы в поволжском ареале.

Принятые сокращения

анатрийск.: анатрийский диалект чувашского языка

ар. : арабское слово

в-д-т : восточно-древнетюркский

др. русск.: древнерусский

вирьялск.: вирьяльский диалект чувашского языка

з-д-т/ог.: западно-древнетюркский огурского типа

новоперс.: новоперсидское слово

поздне-прамарийск.: поздне-прамарийская форма

рсч: ранне-среднечувашский

среднемишарск.: среднемишарский

чув. чувашский

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Notes to the History of the Hungarians in the 10th Century

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There are few information about the relation between the Hungarians and the Byzantine Empire at the beginning of the 10th century. Therefore, opinion of the historians are often based on a single source, whether they declare hostile or friendly relationship between the two powers.

It is widely accepted that the Hungarians did not interfere in the Bulgarian–Byzantine conflicts in the Balkans from the beginning of the 10th century until the death of the Bulgarian ruler Symeon in 927.¹ However, this view has fundamentally changed as a result of a single source. The *Miracula Sancti Georgii* reports about a battle between Bulgarians and Byzantines identified with the battle of Ankhialos in 917.² According to this source the Hungarians (*Ungroi*),³ the army of ‘Abbasid Caliphate (*Medes*),⁴ the Pechenegs (*Scythians*)⁵ and the Turk warriors of the Abbasid Caliphate (*Turks*)⁶ fought against the Byzantine Empire at a time of the battle of Anchalos.⁷ Several researchers conclude that in addition to the Bulgarians, the Hungarians, the Pechenegs, and the ‘Abbasid Caliphate were also enemies of the Byzantines at the time of the battle of Anchalos in 917.⁸ There were only a few

1 Pauler 1900, 68, 169 note 102; Györfy 1977a, 149; Györfy 1977b, 46.

2 Moravcsik 1932, 437; Дуйчев 1964, 60; Božilov 1971, 172–173; История на България 287.

3 Cf. Moravcsik 1958, II, 225 cf. Moravcsik 1932, 437; Дуйчев 1964, 61 note 6; Дуйчев 1972, 514.

4 Cf. Moravcsik 1932, 437; Moravcsik 1984, 77 note 1.

5 Cf. Moravcsik 1984, 77 note 1 cf. Moravcsik 1958, II, 281.

6 Cf. „Seldschuken”, ‘Mameluken’ und verwandte Türkstämme” Moravcsik 1958, II, 322.

7 Moravcsik 1984, 77 cf. 78. See source: Czebe 1927, 47–48; Moravcsik 1958, 441–442; Király 1977, 325.

8 Дуйчев 1964, 61 note 6; Božilov 1971, 172–173; История на България 287; Димитров 1998, 59–60, 356; Князький 2003, 12; Moravcsik 1934, 140–141; Moravcsik 1984, 77–79; Kristó 1980, 248, 532 note 589; Kristó 1985, 38; Kristó 1986, 27; Makk 1996, 15–16; Makk 1998, 220; Kristó–Makk 2001, 106.

researchers who pointed out that conceivably the source did not authentically mention these peoples.⁹

However, the plausibility of the description of the source can be determined based on other sources.

The Byzantine Empire had already agreed in a peace treaty with the 'Abbasid Caliphate by the time of the Battle of 917.¹⁰ The Pechenegs – although the Bulgarians repeatedly tried to put them on their own side – had already formed an alliance with the Byzantine Empire in 914,¹¹ and a Pecheneg army went to the Lower Danube to fight against the Bulgarians in 917.¹²

A letter of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Nikolaos Mystikos mentions that the Byzantine Empire is trying to use the Pechenegs and other barbaric peoples against the Bulgarians in 917.¹³ Nikolaos Mystikos wrote that the imperial government hired the Pechenegs and the Hungarians, as well as other peoples against the Bulgarians in another letter, which was dated to 915.¹⁴ However, the tone of this letter differs from the those of the patriarch which he wrote about the Byzantine–Pecheneg alliance in 914.¹⁵ It was much more likely that the source was written in 917.¹⁶ According to Constantinus Porphyrogenetus (913–959) the Byzantine Empire sent an envoy to the prince of the Paganía, Peter by the time of the battle of Ankhialos in 917. He was instructed to form an alliance with the Hungarians against the Bulgarians.¹⁷ The Hungarians were allies of the Byzantine Empire in 917 according to the sources.¹⁸ The *Miracula Sancti Georgii* thus falsely claimed that the Hungarians fought against the Byzantine Empire in 917.¹⁹

In other cases, a single source has greatly influenced the judgment of events too. This is what happened in connection with the Hungarian campaign in 927. In that year, according to the *Benedicti Sancti Andreae monachi chronicle*, Pope John X (914–928) and his brother Petrus marquis regained power in Rome with the help of a

9 Czebe 1927, 48; Moravcsik 1984, 77 note 1. Cf. „Die gemeinsame Aufführung der erwähnten Völker ist natürlich nichts anderes, als die eigenmächtige Kombination des Verfassers der Legende, da die Geschichte des X. Jh.-s nichts davon weiss.” Moravcsik 1932, 438; „Für die ungarische Geschichte ist aber die Quelle wertlos, weil die historisch unmögliche Völkerliste wohl nur zur Ausschmückung der Legende diene.” Bogyay 1988, 32.

10 Le Strange 1897, 35–45; Jenkins 1953, 392; Vasiliev 1950, 60–61, 66–69, 73–79, 108, 146–147, 222, 226, 237, 245, 248, 252, 260, 270, 273; Balogh 2007, 17.

11 Jenkins–Westerink 1973, 310–313. (66. letter), 553–554, 312–315. (67. letter) cf. Grumel 1936, 162–163; Balogh 2007, 10–15.

12 Bekker 1838. 390, 724, 882; Runciman 1930, 159–160; Wozniak 1984, 305–306; Jenkins–Westerink 1973, 60–63. (9. letter); Balogh 2007, 16–17.

13 Jenkins–Westerink 1973, 58–59 (9. letter).

14 Jenkins–Westerink 1973, 514–517. (183. letter); Balogh 2007, 18–19.

15 Jenkins–Westerink 1973, 591.

16 Димитров 1998, 59; Kristó 1995, 98. note 256; Kristó–Makk 2001, 106; Божилов 1973, 44 note 38.

17 Moravcsik 1950, 156–159. (32. c.); Balogh 2007, 19–20.

18 Fine 1989, 150.

19 Balogh 2007, 8–21; Tóth P. 2011, 157; Bácsatyai 2016, 222.

Hungarian army,²⁰ while according to Romualdo Salernitano a Hungarian army went to Apulia and occupied the cities of Oria and Taranto in 927.²¹ Based on this, several historians concluded that the Hungarians rushed to the aid of Pope John X, and then they carried out raids in southern Italy. Oria and Taranto was under control of the Byzantine Empire, so the Hungarians became enemies of the Byzantine Empire in 927.²² The occupation of the two cities is also unusual because Hungarian armies very rarely attempted to occupy well-fortified settlements, and these attacks were even less successful in the 9th and 10th centuries.²³

Indeed, Romualdo Salernitano says that Oria (*Aerea*) and Taranto (*Tarentum*) were occupied by the Hungarians (*Ungri*).²⁴ But, does the author report authentically about of the event? Many Arab, Latin and Greek sources describe the fall of Oria and Taranto, thus we can answer this question.

Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-Athīr mention that a Muslim fleet conquered Taranto in 313 A. H. (29 March 925–18 March 926).²⁵ The same event is also reported by Nuwayrī during the year 316 A. H. (25 February 928–13 February 929)²⁶ and the *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn* during the year 315 A. H. (8 March 927–24 February 247).²⁷ *Cambridge chronicle*, which has survived in Greek and Arabic versions, explains that a Muslim fleet occupied Taranto in A. D. 6436 (927–928).²⁸ Latin sources also report that the city of Taranto was occupied by the Muslims (927: *Anonymi Barensis*, *Annales Lupi protospatharii*, 929: *Annales Barenses*).²⁹

Al-Bayān says that a Muslim army attacked the city of Oria (Wari) during the year 316 A. H. (25 February 928–13 February 929),³⁰ while Ibn ʿIdarī reports the fall of Oria (*Wār.y*) in 313 A. H. (29 March 925–18 March 926).³¹ The *Cambridge Chronicle* mentions that Oria (*.w.rā*) was occupied by the Muslims during A. D.

20 *Benedicti Sancti Andreae monachi chronicon* 1839, 714. cf. Czebe 1930, 164–167; Fasoli 1945, 149–152; Vajay 1968, 79–80; Kristó 1980, 265; Györffy 1984, 667–668; Moravcsik 1984, 27; Kristó–Makk 2001, 115–116.

21 „Non post multum vero temporis Ungri venerunt in Apuliam et capta Aerea civitate ceperunt Tarentum. Deinc Campaniam ingressi non modicam ipsius provincie partem igni ac direptioni dederunt.” Arndt 1866, 399.

22 Kristó 1980, 265; Györffy 1984, 668; Kristó 1986, 32; Kristó–Makk 2001, 115–116; Tóth 2010, 198; Tóth 2016, 531.

23 Kristó 1986, 16, 26, 28, 31, 33, 36, 37, 38, 40–41; Tóth 2016, 542–543.

24 Cf. Hóman 1917, 134–151.

25 Amari 1880, 411–412; Amari 1881, 191; Fagnan 1898, 317; Vasiliev 1950, 148–149.

26 Vasiliev 1950, 231. Several researchers have been deceived by the source calling the leader of the army attacking the city, Sabīrt the “Slav”, based on which they mistakenly saw a Slavic leader in it. (Bréhier 1969, 149; Veszprémy 2014, 87). In fact, in this case, it is merely a matter of the commander of the fleet being a high-ranking slave in the Fatimid Caliphate (cf. Gay 1904, 208; Halm 1996, 278–279).

27 Vasiliev 1950, 223.

28 Amari 1880, 283; Vasiliev 1950, 104.

29 Muratorius 1724, 147; Churchill 1979, 116, 126.

30 Amari 1881, 27.

31 Vasiliev 1950, 217.

6434 (925–926).³² Latin sources also mention that the Oria were taken by the Muslims in 924 (*Anonymi Barensis, Annales Lupi protospatharii, Annales Barenses*).³³

Veszprémy was the first Hungarian researcher, who draws attention to the fact that Oria and Taranto were not occupied by Hungarians but by Muslims.³⁴ Romualdo Salernitano – who does not write about the Muslim revenues of the two cities – obviously simply confused the attackers and he wrote Hungarians – who were also visiting Italy at that time – instead of Muslims.³⁵

It was previously a widespread opinion that the Hungarians were in a hostile relationship with the Byzantine Empire in both 917 and 927. However, as the Hungarian–Byzantine conflict of 917 has no reliable source, and the Hungarian campaign of 927 in Byzantine-ruled southern-Italy was not a real event, but only due to the mistake of the author of a medieval Latin source, it is obvious that this was not the case.

I have previously paid attention to the reports of Abū Firās on the relations between the Hungarians and the Byzantine Empire in the middle of the 10th century. The author mentions that the Byzantine emperor Constantinus Porphyrogennetus sent an army led by Basilios Parakoimomenos in Asia Minor to fight against the Hamdanid prince, Sayf al-Dawla. For the success of the campaign the emperor agreed in a peace treaty with the lord of the West (sāhib *al-Ġarb) and with the kings of the Bulgarians (bulġār), the Russians (rūs), the Hungarians (turk), the Franks (ifranġa) and other people and asked them for military help.³⁶ Although several scholars assumed that the Hungarians had a hostile relationship with the Byzantine Empire in 958,³⁷ in the light of the source, this view cannot be maintained. The Hungarians were allies of emperor Constantinus Porphyrogennetus and they supported the emperor's fight against the Principality of Hamdanids with auxiliary troops in 958.³⁸

³² Amari 1880, 283; Vasiliev 1950, 104.

³³ Muratorius 1724, 147; Churchill 1979, 116, 126.

³⁴ Veszprémy 2014, 87. For events, see: Gay 1904, 208; Eickhoff 1966, 304–308; Bréhier 1969, 149; Metcalfe 2009, 49; Churchill 1979, 198–200; Kreutz 1991, 98; Lev 1984, 231; Jacob 1988, 1–2; Runciman 1999, 190.

³⁵ Cf. Churchill 1979, 200 note 1.

³⁶ Balogh 2014, 11–18.

³⁷ Györffy 1984, 709–710; Kristó–Makk 2001, 146.

³⁸ Balogh 2014, 13–14.

Hungarian warriors fought in the Byzantine army many times. They were present on the Italian battlefield (935, 1025),³⁹ on the Balkans (990s),⁴⁰ and along the eastern borders of the Byzantine Empire (954, 960s).⁴¹ In full agreement with this, Abū Firās says that the Hungarians fought on the side of the Byzantines in 958. Recently, I noticed that not only the Muslim source but also a reliable, contemporary Byzantine source reports foreign auxiliary troops fighting in the Byzantine army in 958. An oration to the eastern troops which was written in August-September 958⁴² by emperor Constantinus Porphyrogennetus mentions that the news of the successes of the Byzantine army had spread to “foreign people” who joined the Byzantine army as well.⁴³ McGeer pointed out that when the author wrote “foreign people”, he meant the Byzantine forces’ Bulgarian, Russian, Hungarian, and Frankish auxiliaries.⁴⁴ Thus, the news of the Muslim source about the foreign auxiliary troops of the Byzantine army, including the Hungarians, is now confirmed by the sentences of emperor Constantinus Porphyrogennetus himself.

New sources have emerged not only for the Hungarians, but also for certain Hungarians or people of Hungarian origin. Among them, several sources can be linked to southern Italy in the 11th century.

Olajos drew attention to the inventory of Région metropolia dating back to around 1050, which mentions *Ungros*’s land, near Rhegium (Reggio di Calabria).⁴⁵ Olajos also drew attention to a diploma to 1076/1077, which mentioned *Ungros*’s land near Vibo Valentia and Catanzaro in Calabria.⁴⁶ Probably these person were descendants of the Hungarian prisoners of war, they were captured during their Italian campaign in the 10th century,⁴⁷ or they could have been Hungarian soldiers

39 Reiske 1829, 660–661; Churchill 1979, 118; Moravcsik 1984, 34; Olajos 1987–88, 26; Olajos 1998, 219–222.

40 Moravcsik 1984, 74–77; Balogh 2015, 86–99.

41 Balogh 2014, 11–13; McGeer 2008, 201; Becker 1915, 199; Baán 2005, 541. There is an opinion that one of the paintings of the Chludov Psalter made in the middle of the 9th century shows a Hungarian warrior in Byzantine service. (Petkes–Sudár 2017, 40).

42 McGeer 2003, 123.

43 „The great and widespread report of your courage has reached foreign ears, to the effect that you have an irresistible onslaught, that you possess incomparable courage, that you display a proud spirit in battle. When several contingents of these foreign peoples recently joined you on campaign, they were amazed to see with their own eyes the courage and valour of the other soldiers who performed heroically in earlier expeditions; let them now be astonished at your audacity, let them marvel at your invincible and unsurpassable might against the barbarians. [...] Let your heroic deeds be spoken of in foreign lands, let the foreign contingents accompanying you be amazed at your discipline, let them be messengers to their compatriots of your triumphs and symbols which bring victory, so that they may see the deeds you have performed.” McGeer 2003, 131–132; Vári 1908, 75–85; Ahrweiler 1967, 396.

44 McGeer 2003, 131, note 81.

45 Olajos 2015, 90–95 cf. Guillou 1974, 179.

46 Olajos 1987–88, 26–27.

47 Cf. Ekkehardus Casuum S. Galli continuatio 1829, 107; Benedicti Sancti Andreae monachi chronicon 714; Olajos 1987–88, 25–26; Elter 2009, 88, 105.

(their descendants?) fighting in the Byzantine army in the 10th and 11th centuries.⁴⁸ We know that Hungarian troops arrived in southern Italy as Byzantine auxiliaries in 935 and 1025. The commander of a Hungarian corps, Kyrillos spatharokandidatos and domestikos, donated land to the Asekrétis monastery in Calabria in 1053/1054.⁴⁹ Based on these data, we can state that Hungarians or persons of Hungarian origin already lived in the territory of southern Italy in the 11th century for sure.

I recently noticed that a Latin diploma mentioned Leo filius Petri *Ungri* near Castellabate⁵⁰ in Campania in 980.⁵¹ In this case, based on Byzantine sources already mentioned, we can assume that *Ungri* refer to the Hungarian origin of Leo's father.⁵² Based on this data, it seems that in southern Italy, not only in the 11th century, but also in the second half of the 10th century, there were people who ancestrally could be connected to the Hungarians. These people, like English, Alan, Pecheneg, Frankish, Russian, or Vlah warriors of the Byzantine army,⁵³ enriched the mosaic of the population of the Byzantine Empire with a new color.⁵⁴

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48 Olajos 1987–88, 26; Olajos 2015, 104–109. It seems that the Hungarians also left their mark on Italian toponymy: Tardy 1982, 153–164; Pellegrini 1988, 307–340.

49 Guillou–Rognoni 1991–1992, 424, 426–428; Olajos 2015, 96–103.

50 Visentin 2012, 160.

51 Morcaldi–Schiani–de Stephano 1875, 146.

52 Ebner 1979, 170 note 53.

53 Janin 1930, 61–72; Vasiliev 1937, 39–70; Ciggaar 1974, 301–342; Shepard 1974, 18–39; Shepard 1973, 53–92; Makk 1992, 16–22; Wierzbński 2014, 277–288; Shepard 1993, 275–305.

54 Cf. Janin 1930, 61.

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Bemerkungen zu der neu gefundenen Dede Korkut-Handschrift, mit einer Übersetzung der dreizehnten Geschichte

Hendrik Boeschoten
Mainz

Die Handschrift aus Gonbad

Im Jahr 2018 tauchte eine bis dahin unbekannte Handschrift in einer Privatbibliothek in Gonbad-e Qabus, etwas östlich vom Kaspischen Meer im Iran, auf, die Texte aus dem Dede Korkut-Zyklus enthält. Diese weisen eine große Affinität zu dem Material in den Handschriften aus Dresden und dem Vatikan auf.¹ Der Fund war eine Sensation und Bearbeitungen folgten schnell (Azmun 2019; Shahgoli & al. 2019; Ekici 2019). Die erstgenannten zwei Veröffentlichungen enthalten ausgezeichnete facsimilae, die auch über das Internet eingesehen werden können.

Die neu gefundene Handschrift umfasst dreißig Blatt plus einige Zeilen. Den Großteil macht eine locker versifizierte Sammlung von Sprüchen aus von der Art, wie sie u.a. aus der Sprüchesammlung in ms. Dresden, dem Fragment in der Seldschukengeschichte Yazıcıoğlu's und der Berliner *Oğuznâme* bekannt sind (f.1r1–24v6). Es folgt ein kurzer Text, der von der Eroberung des Aras-Tales und der Burg Kars handelt, aber hauptsächlich einen Prahlers und die Erwähnung der Anführer mit ihren Epitheta enthält, und kaum irgendwelche Handlung. Es handelt sich wohl um eine Kurzfassung, die ein Sänger *ad hoc* ausbauen kann (f.24v7–26r14). Schließlich folgt eine gänzlich in Prosa verfasste, bisher unbekannte Geschichte, in der Salur Kasan einen Drachen tötet (f.26v1–31r5).

Die Handschrift stammt wohl aus der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts (Shahgoli & al. 2019). Der Text scheint aber eine recht getreue Kopie einer Handschrift aus dem frühen 16. Jahrhundert Chr. zu sein (nach Shahgoli & al. 2019, aus der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts). Diese Datierung beruht, wie im Falle der Dresdener Handschrift, u.a. auf die Erwähnung der „neun Distrikte Georgiens“

¹ Diese Texte sind aus der Literatur genügend bekannt; ich zitiere nach Gökyay (1973) mit seiner ausführlichen Ausarbeitung der Hintergründe, Tezcan & Boeschoten (2001, Textausgabe) und Boeschoten (2008, deutsche Übersetzung). Im Folgenden beziehe ich mich nur auf ms. Dresden.

(*Doquz Tüman Gürcistan*, f.2r13). Diese Zersplitterung Georgiens gab es erst nach etwa 1460. Wie auch in der Dresdener Handschrift wird der Name Başı Açıq erwähnt (f.26r10), allerdings hier nicht auf eine Person bezogen, wie in der Dresdener Handschrift (*Başı Açıq Dadian*), sondern auf dessen Herrschaftsgebiet Imeretien (einer der „neun Distrikte“). Andererseits wird Salur Kasan in einem Epitheton „Waghalsigster im Staat der Zulkadir“ (*Zu l-qadir delüsi*) genannt und das ergibt einen möglichen *terminus ante quem* von etwa 1550.

Für die Klärung der handschriftlichen Zusammenhänge ist erst einmal eine genaue sprachliche Analyse nötig. Die Sprache, in der der Text verfasst ist, ist dabei eindeutig als Aserbaidisch einzustufen. Ein auffallendes Dialektmerkmal ist eine starke Neigung zur Velarisierung von auslautendem /-n/. Siehe dazu Shahgoli & al. (2019).

Die Handschriften im Vergleich

Zweifellos gehört der Text in ms. Gonbad sowohl formell als inhaltlich zur selben Tradition wie ms. Dresden. Ich gebe hier nur ein kleines Beispiel. In einer Passage mit dem Reimwort *yæg* (ms. Dresden 4r4–4v1, viel kürzer in ms. Gonbad 16v13–17r3) finden wir eine auffallende Parallele, inklusive der trigesimal formulierten Zahl hundert. In ms. Dresden: *Gerçeklerün üç otuz on yaşını töldürsa yæg / Üç otuz on yaşınız tölsün!* ‚Schön ist es, wenn die wahren [Helden] hundert Jahre alt werden / Mögen Sie auch hundert Jahre alt werden!‘ Ms. Gonbad: *Yahşı igidler ölür olsa üç otuz on yaşını doldursa yæg / Üç otuz on yaşınız devlet ilen dolı gelsün!* ‚Wenn gute Helden sterben, ist es schön, wenn sie hundert Jahre alt sind / Mögen Sie auch hundert Jahre alt werden mit fortwährendem gutem Glück!‘

Auffallend ist, dass die Geschichte mit dem Drachen keine Verseinschübe enthält. Ein Text wie die „Eroberung des Aras-Tales und der Burg Kars“ ist in dieser Form auch neu. Ein wesentlicher Unterschied besteht darin, dass ms. Dresden (wie auch ms. Vatikan) seinen Schwerpunkt in Anatolien hat, sowohl hinsichtlich der Handlung, als auch sprachlich, während ms. Gonbad deutlich Aserbaidisch verhaftet ist. Das ist zumindest von der Sprache her klar.

Bei den Aufzählungen der Helden und deren Epitheta gibt es auch einige auffallende Unterschiede, und damit will ich mich weiter unten befassen, nachdem ich zuerst eine Übersetzung der Geschichte von der Drachentötung geliefert habe. Zudem werde ich mich befassen mit der Frage nach dem Zusammenhang zwischen Epitheta und (noch verschollene) Episoden.

[Wie Kasan den Drachen tötete]

Es war an einem Tag im heißesten Sommer, als der Drache unter den Männern, Kraftquelle des Islam, Bereiter des Fuchses, Bester unter den Salur, Glanz der Eymür, Waghalsigster im Staat der Zulkadir, mit Sommerweide auf dem Berg Savalan und Winterquartier in Sarikamisch, imposant wie achtzig tausend Mann,

Schneide des Schwertes aus dunklem Stahl, Flügel des spitzen Speeres, Spitze der zischenden² Pfeile, Griff des straffen Bogens, Anker Aserbaidschans, Stellvertreter des Herrschers, Kasan, Sohn des Ulasch, die Windhunde und Pointer³ vorführen ließ. Er ließ auch die Wanderfalken auf den Arm nehmen und die scheckigen Geparden bereitstellen. Er nahm dreihundert Genossen mit, fasste den Akmankan ins Auge und ritt zur Jagd. Am Akmankan jagten sie Wildtiere und Vögel.

Am Nachmittag sprach Kasan wie folgt: „Meine Fürsten! Niemand soll mit mir reiten, geht alle zum Lager, ich will alleine eine Beute erjagen, dann komme ich nach.“ Kasan ließ seinen Fuchs tänzeln und ritt alleine zum Gipfel des Akmankan. Da brach das Dunkel herein, ohne dass er schon eine Beute erhascht hätte. Er sprach: „O Allmächtiger! Ich habe mich von meinen Fürsten getrennt, um eine Beute zu erjagen. Ich kann mich kaum mit leeren Händen im Lager zeigen, lasse mich nicht ohne Beute stehen!“ Sein Blick streifte über die Niederungen, und da sah er am Hang des Karadagh an sieben Stellen etwas wie Fackeln brennen. Und an sieben Stellen stieg dichter Rauch auf. Kasan meinte, es sei der Schein der Fackeln in seinem eigenen Lager. Er ließ sein Pferd tänzeln und ritt auf die Lichter zu.

Inzwischen hatte Lele Kilbasch, der Erzieher Kasans,⁴ erfahren, dass dieser alleine auf der Jagd zurückgeblieben war. Das fand er unerträglich und er galoppierte hinter ihm her.

Als Kasan sein Ziel erreichte, sah er etwas wie einen Hügel liegen mit etwas wie einem rauschenden Wald. Er war auf ein Festlandmonster,⁵ auf einen Drachen gestoßen. Was an sieben Stellen wie Fackeln brannte, waren die Augen des Drachen, und der dichte Rauch, der an sieben Stellen aufstieg, war der Dampf aus dessen Rachen. Der rauschende Wald jedoch war die Mähne des Drachen. Als Kasan den Drachen erblickte, machte sein tapferes Herz einen Sprung und die ganze Welt lächelte ihm zu. Er hatte vor, sich mit dem Drachen zu schlagen. Er ritt etwas zurück, und da sah er Lele Kilbasch, bereit in Hilfestellung. Er beriet sich mit Lele: „Lieber Lele, siehst du diesen Drachen, der wie ein Hügel da liegt? Sollen wir gegen ihn vorgehen, oder sollen wir zur Seite treten und uns davonschleichen? Was rätst du, sage es mir, lieber Lele.“ Lele überlegte sich, dass dieser Kasan ein Haudegen, ein echter Held war, und dass dieser ihm, sollte er einen Angriff entraten, zürnen möge. Also sagte Lele: „Du bist herausragender als der Karadagh gegenüber, stirb nicht. Du strömst wilder als der glasklare überströmende Bach, stirb nicht. Du bist der Hengst unter den rassigen Pferden, stirb nicht. Du bist der Hengst der Kamelherde, stirb nicht. Du bist der Widder im Schafsgehege, stirb nicht. Du bist

² *ş[u]hār (?)*

³ *tula*; tt.dial. ‚köpek ile tazının birleşmesinden doğan yavru‘.

⁴ Diese Funktion von Kilbasch ist neu. In ms. Dresden tritt er nur als Bote Bajidur Chans in der Geschichte über den Aufstand der Außen-Oghusen in Erscheinung. Rašīduddīn erwähnt einen Sari Kilbasch, der Erzieher (*atabeg*) von Bughra Chans Sohn war (Gökyay, 1973: clxvii).

⁵ *yēr evreni*

der Anführer der Kämpfer, stirb nicht. Du bist der Held unter den Tapferen, stirb nicht. So ein Drache ist ja eigentlich bloß eine Schlange, gehe ruhig auf ihn los.“

Kasan ließ seinen Fuchs tänzeln und ritt schnell auf den Drachen zu. Er sah diesen im Schlaf liegen. Da dachte sich Kasan: „Einen Mann im Schlaf zu töten ist keine Mutprobe, ein Leben in Arglist ist für einen Männersohn kein Leben.“ Also griff er zu einem Pfeil⁶ in seinem Köcher und zielte auf den Drachen, den er traf. Der Drache schlug beim Aufwachen mit seinem Schwanz, der den Berg umschlang und spie Gift, das die Erde färbte. Er atmete tief ein durch die zusammengepressten Lippen und, wie ein Distelstrauch, den der Wind vor sich hertreibt, bewegte sich Kasan mit Pferd und Rüstung auf den Rachen des Drachen zu. Da rief Kasan Allah an und flehte: „Wunderbarer Gott, der den Weg freimacht zum Himmel, den er errichtet hat, großer Gott, der seinen Auserwählten nicht aufschreien lässt!⁷ Viele suchen dich im Himmel, aber du befindest dich im Herzen der Gläubigen und auf der Zunge der Aufrichtigen. Allah, mein Gott, wer dich eins nennt, den werde ich auf den Mund küssen, wer dich zweifach nennt, den werde ich auf den Mund hauen. Über reißende Bäche werde ich Brücken schlagen, die Verlassenen werde ich bei der Hand nehmen, die Nackten werde ich kleiden. Es soll nicht heißen, dass den Kasan am Ende eine Schlange geschluckt hat. O Allmächtiger, biete mir einen Ausweg!“

Möge dir kein böser Tag befallen! Und wenn dir ein böser Tag befällt, dann flehe Allah an. Denen, die Allah anflehen, bleibt nichts verwehrt. Kaum hatte Kasan Allah angefleht, da schob sich ein Fels in der Größe eines geräumigen Zeltes zwischen ihm und dem Drachen. Kasan ritt auf diesen hinauf und stieg dort vom Pferd. Er pflanzte seinen Speer in den Boden (sic!) und legte sein Schild an. Solange der Held gesund ist, gibt er sein Leben für eine Waffe. Irgendwann wird er diese Waffe brauchen, wenn auch nur für kurze Zeit. Wie sehr sich der Drache auch mühte, Kasan in sich hinein zu schlürfen, Speer und Schild verhinderten, dass er auf den Felsen hinaufkam. Kasan hielt oben auf dem Felsen stand, aber sein Auge wurde durch das fürchterliche Andringen des Drachen getrübt und wurde blutig. Kasan sprach seinem Auge wütend zu: „He du, mein feiges Auge! Du fürchtest nicht die Schneide eines Schwertes aus gehärtetem dunklem Stahl und schrecktest nicht zurück vor den Spitzen der blitzschnellen Pfeile. Die sechzehn *batman* schwere Keule eines Ungläubigen traf meinen Scheitel, aber du quollst nicht hervor. Dieser sogenannte Drache ist nur eine Schlange, was ist an dem, dass du schwach und trübe wirst? Was hat ein feiges Auge wie du in einem tapferen Mann wie mir zu suchen?“ Er zückte seinen Dolch und schickte sich an, seine Augen auszusteichen. Da fiel ihm aber ein, dass die Leute sagen mochten, Kasan habe den Drachen zu Gesicht bekommen und sich, da ihm nichts Besseres einfel, aus Angst die Augen ausgestochen.

⁶ *ş[u]hār* (?)

⁷ *ürdügünjī ulatmayan*; falsch in den Ausgaben; *ür*= ‚auserwählen‘ (**üdür*=) gibt es im Türkmenischen und im Osmanischen.

Er warf seinen Köcher vor sich hin, und als die achtzig Pfeile aus dem Köcher verbraucht waren, hatte der Drache Spieße in allen Gelenken. Er hatte keine Energie zum Schlürfen mehr, aber es steckte noch Leben in ihm. Kasan nahm sein Schwert aus gehärtetem dunklem Stahl in die Hand und stürzte sich damit auf den Drachen. Kasan schlug dem Drachen am zentralen Gelenk alle sieben Köpfe ab und warf sie auf den Boden. Dessen Gift floss zu Boden und verursachte dort links und rechts Brände. Kasan durchbohrte den Drachen mit seinem Dolch, seinem Schwert und seinem Messer. Dann setzte er sich mit gekreuzten Beinen oben auf den Drachen drauf.

Sowie Lele Kilbasch das Feuer sah, meinte er, der Drache hätte Kasan verschluckt. Er rief aus: „Herr, Herr, dessen Weißbrot ich aß!“, und sputete sich mit gezücktem Schwert zum Drachen. Und was sah er dort? Er sah die sieben Köpfe des Drachen auf der Erde liegen und Kasan mit gekreuzten Beinen auf dem Rücken des Drachen sitzen. Lele sprach: „Segensreicher Gott! Lob der Mannhaftigkeit und Überlegenheit meines Herrn Kasan!“ Kasan erwiderte: „Lieber Lele, ich war es nicht, der den Drachen tötete, sondern deine Standhaftigkeit und Unterstützung. Hole Fachleute und schau, dass der Drache enthäutet wird.“ Lele holte gute Fachleute und ließ den Drachen enthäuten. Aus der Haut des Drachen ließ Kasan ein Kleid für seine furchtlose Selbst nähen und ein Futteral für seinen Bogen anfertigen. Für seine blitzschnellen⁸ Pfeile mit den drei Federn ließ er einen Köcher nähen, für sein Schwert aus dunklem Stahl eine Scheide herstellen, für seine sechseckige Flanschkeule ein Futteral und ebenso für seinen spitzen Speer mit dem bunten Fähnchen. Der Sattel seines wolphaarigen Fuchses bekam eine Bekleidung und die Bedeckung seines Sonnendaches ließ er auch aus Streifen von Drachenhaut fertigen. Die sieben Köpfe wurde auch irgendwie enthäutet und das beste Exemplar setzte Kasan sich auf. Nachdem er selber mit Pferd in Drachenhaut geschlüpft war, machte er sich auf dem Weg zu Bajindir Chan.

Bajindir Chan bekam die Nachricht, Kasan sei zum Drachen geworden und käme angeritten. Der Oghuse ist ein solch treuherziger Türke, dass er sich nicht fragt, wie denn ein Mensch zum Drachen wird. Also meldeten sich links und rechts Leute zu Wort, die sagten: „Solange Kasan ein Mensch war, sind wir ihm immer gefolgt.“⁹ Jetzt da er zum Drachen geworden ist, wird er uns alle schlucken. Komm, wir steigen auf einen Hügel und decken ihn mit Pfeilen ein.“ Da meldete sich Bajindir Chan zu Wort: „Mein Stellvertreter Kasan ist ein mutiger Held, ein guter Held. Womöglich ist er einem Drachen begegnet, hat ihn getötet und sich dann als Drache verkleidet. Wenn Kasan zum Drachen geworden ist kennt er so etwas wie Volk und Bruder nicht.“ Karabudak sprach: „Mein Chan, erlaube es mir, Kasan entgegen zu reiten, soll er mich schlucken, wenn er zum Drachen geworden ist.“ Karabudak ließ sein Pferd tänzeln und ritt Kasan entgegen. Auf Hörweite hielt er halt und griff einen

⁸ *ş[u]hār* (?)

⁹ *‘uhdāsindān çiqmazduq*. Azmun (2019) und Shahgoli & al. (2019) übersetzen: ‚konnten wir nicht gegen ihn an‘, was sicherlich besser passt. Ekici (2019) übersetzt wie ich.

Pfeil¹⁰ aus seinem Köcher. „Onkel, man sagt, du seiest zum Drachen geworden. Wenn das nicht stimmt, dann rede laut und deutlich mit mir,“ sagte er. „Redest du nicht, dann töte ich dich, Kasan, mit der Spitze eines blitzschnellen Pfeils, ich schneide dich in Stücke mit der Schneide des Schwertes aus dunklem Stahl. Wenn du einen Drachen getötet hast, sei deine Heldentat gesegnet. Dann gib mir einen Anteil an deiner Beute.“ Kasan stieg vom Pferd und band sein Schwert um Karabudaks Taille.

Ob Karabudak nun seinem Schwert Ehre gemacht hatte oder nicht, darüber wurde Chan Bajindir aufgeklärt. Kasan hatte also einen Drachen getötet. Bajindir Chan zog los mit den Innen- und Außen-Oghusen, um Kasan zu empfangen. Kasan stieg vom Pferd, machte einen Sprung von siebzig Fuß und warf sich Bajindir Chan zu Füßen. Er stellte sein Sonnendach aus Drachenhaut auf. Bajindir Chan setzte sich mit gekreuzten Beinen unter das Sonnendach hin und Kasan bewirtete ihn sieben Tage und sieben Nächte.

Wie Dede Korkut es ausdrückt: „Ein großer Held wie Kasan hat diese Welt durchlebt.“

Eine Geschichte mit Ansage

Nun ist also eine dreizehnte Heldengeschichte aus dem Dede Korkut-Zyklus aufgetaucht, und dass sie von einem Drachenkampf, den Kasan liefert, handelt, kommt nicht unbedingt als große Überraschung. In zwei Quellen wird ein solcher Kampf erwähnt. Einmal in der Dresdener Handschrift (f.141r6–8), in einem Prahlvers, den Kasan an die Ungläubigen richtet, die ihn gefangen halten:

Und auch den Drachen mit sieben Köpfen ging ich besuchen,
der ist so grauenhaft, dass mir das linke Auge tränke.
Ich sagte: „He Auge, feiges Auge,
was ist an einer Schlange, dass dir vor ihr bangt?“

Wir sehen hier ein Zitat aus der obigen Geschichte. Der andere Verweis, aus dem *Stammbaum der Türkmene*n Abūlghāzī Bahadur Chans, bezieht sich zwar auf einen Drachenkampf, aber die Unterschiede zum vorigen sind unübersehbar:

Eine Riesenschlange kam vom blauen Himmel
und fraß jeden Menschen, den sie sah.
Salur Kasan hieb ihr gnadenlos den Kopf ab.
Meine Helden, meine Herren, hat jemand einen gesehen wie Kasan?
(Ölmez 1996: 209)

10 *ş[u]hār* (?)

Hier ist die Rede von einem Drachen aus der Luft, während es sich vorher explizit um einen Landdrachen (*yêr evreni*) handelt. Viel wichtiger ist aber der Umstand, dass der Drache hier die Menschheit bedroht, Kasan tritt also als Held in seiner Normalfunktion auf, das heißt als Ordnungshüter. In unserer Geschichte hat der Drache aber noch gar nichts verbochen, er hat etwa keine Stammesmitglieder gefressen oder Jungfern entführt. Ein Held, der aus purer Abenteuerlust loszieht, ist für den Dede Korkut-Zyklus eher untypisch.¹¹ Übrigens gibt es auch in einem Prahlers im ms. Gonbad einen ganz wesentlichen Verweis auf die Drachengeschichte (f.19v4–5):

*Yêddi başlı yêr evreni¹² olubanı
Quyruq çaldum, dağ dolandum
Agu saçdum, yêr boyadum
Nefes çeküb şon sômüreñ Ğazanıdum.*

Ich wurde zum siebenköpfigen Drachen,
Schlug mit dem Schwanz, um den Berg herum,
Spuckte Gift, färbte die Erde,
Holte Atem und schlürfte in mich hinein, das war ich, Kasan.

Kasan identifiziert sich also wirklich mit dem Drachen!

Es stellt sich die Frage, nach welchen Geschichten oder Episoden die Prahlerverse Kasans und die Lobpreisungen in anderen Quellen sonst noch verweisen. Ein wiederkehrender Topos sind Eroberungszüge gegen Burgen und Städte, etwa gegen Akhisar, in der Dresdener Handschrift, und im ms. Gonbad ist ja tatsächlich die Kernfassung eines Eroberungszuges im Aras-Tal und gegen Kars enthalten. Es werden zwei andere Episoden des öfteren erwähnt in den Quellen. Erstens eine in einer Passage (f.19b12–20r5) im ms. Gonbad, in der Kasan prahlt:

11 Başgöz (1978: 35) vertritt die folgende Meinung: “When the hero begins pursuit of an individual goal, such as the heroic quest for a bride, (...) the decay of the epic begins. (...) Since individual motivation is the main feature of a romance hero (...)” Was das Motiv der Brautwerbung angeht, liegt Başgöz allgemein gesprochen wohl falsch. Ich zitiere hierzu Hatto (1989: 291): “In Siberian and Inner Asian, but also in some African traditions, the main action may be the (exogamic) Quest for a Bride.” (siehe auch den Index des Bandes unter “wooing”). Dabei argumentiert Hatto aber schon dahingehend, dass eine Brautwerbung ein wesentliches Element sein kann für das Fortbestehen eines kleineren Stammesverbandes. Bleibt also die Frage, was der Nutzen die Drachentötung durch Kasan für das Gemeinwesen haben mochte, noch abgesehen von seiner Identifikation mit dem Drachen. Will er nur eben so sein Epitheton „Drache unter den Männern“ konkretisieren?

12 Man kann das Kompositum *yêr evreni* womöglich auffassen als „Festlanddrache“, im Gegensatz zu Drachen aus der Luft oder aus dem Meer. Andererseits bedeutet *evren* etymologisch „etwas das sich dreht“, und dann insbesondere „das Firmament“, also hat die Disambiguierung vielleicht damit zu tun. *Yêr evreni* ist ein Epitheton für den Helden Bügdüs Emen im *Oğuzname*-Fragment in Yazıcıoğlu's Seldschukkengeschichte (Gökyay 1973: cliii), aber auch in ms. Günbed in der Form *qara yêriñ evreni* ‚Drache der dunklen Erde‘.

*Ala Demür Kāfir Handaŋ geleş altı degül altmış batman ğazanıdı
 İç Oğuzuŋ Dış Oğuzuŋ aqaları boş yerindeŋ götüre bilmezidi
 İçine la'lı çaqır doldurdum, aq dalımuŋ üstine hōb götürdüm
 Qara ğazanı boşadubanı yere qoydum
 Adum Delü Dönmeziken ad ğazanaŋ Ğazanıdum*

Es kam ein Kessel von Ala Demür Chan, dem Ungläubigen,¹³ nicht sechs, ganze sechzig batman schwer
 Keiner der Genossen von den Innen- und Außen-Oghusen konnte ihn leer heben
 Ich füllte ihn mit Rotwein und hob ihn schön auf meine weiße Schulter
 Den schwarzen Kessel leerte ich und stellt ihn zurück auf den Boden
 Ich hieß Delü Dönmez,¹⁴ aber erwarb mir den Namen Kasan.¹⁵

Auch hier gibt es eine Variante bei Abūlghāzī, wobei aber der Aspekt der Namensgebung außen vor bleibt:

*Er warf das Fleisch von einundvierzig Pferden in einen Kessel
 Er hob den Kessel mit der linken Hand
 Und teilte das Fleisch mit der rechten Hand unterm Volk aus
 Meine Helden, meine Herren, hat jemand einen gesehen wie Kasan?
 (Ölmez, loc.cit.)*

Am weitesten verbreitet ist wohl der Hinweis auf eine Episode, in der Kasan eine Lawine oder einen den Hang hinunter rollenden Felsbrocken stoppt. In ms. Gonbad (f.19v8–12) finden wir:

*Aqalarumla içiridüm, qayadan bir qara daş ayrıldı geldi
 Sağdaki bēgler sağa qaçdı, soldaki bēgler sola qaçdı
 Saq elümdeŋ sol elüme piyāleni tepretmedüm
 Qarılarımı qarşı vērüb qara daşı sahlayaŋ Ğazanıdum*

Ich war gerade beim Trinken mit meinen Genossen, da löste sich ein großer Brocken vom Felsen und kam angerollt.
 Die Herren zur Rechten flohen nach rechts, die zur Linken nach links.
 Ich, Kasan, nahm noch nicht den Becher aus der rechten in die linke Hand, sondern hielt dem Felsbrocken meine Arme entgegen und stoppte ihn.

In ms. Dresden (f.140v12–13):

Als vom riesig hohen schwarzen Berg Steine hinunterrollten,
 war ich, Kasan, der sie mir meiner dicken Ferse und meinem Schenkel aufhielt.

¹³ Nicht erwähnt in ms. Dresden.

¹⁴ „Wild und nicht kehrtmachend“.

¹⁵ D.h. „Kessel“.

Auch hierzu gibt es eine Parallele bei Abūlghāzī, hier allerdings mit Feindeinwirkung:

Vom Berg Karaghurt rollten sie Felsen aus einer Grotte.
Kasan trat diesen entgegen und hielt sie auf.
Die Petschenegen sahen dies und erschrecken sehr.
Meine Helden, meine Herren, hat jemand einen gesehen wie Kasan?
(Ölmez, *loc.cit.*)

Und der Topos kommt im *Oğuzname*-Fragment in Yazıcıoğlu's Seldschukengeschichte vor:

Als die Ungläubigen vom Berg Tschalban im Karadschuk Steine fliegen ließen,
War ich es, Kasan, der ihnen meinen Schenkel entgegenhielt.

Zudem wurde das Motiv in Zusammenhang mit Salur Kasan in Sibirien gefunden, in einer südsiberisch-tatarische Fassung der Sage von Ak Kübäk. In der betreffenden Passage rollt Kübäk große Felsbrocken auf Kasan herab, der diese umgehend über seinen Kopf zurückwirft (Radloff 1872: 190).

Gökyay (1973: clxxiii) spekuliert schon darüber, dass sich hinter den Verweisen in den Prahlsversen insbesondere zwei Geschichten verstecken mochten: Eine über einen Kampf mit einem Drachen, und eine über das Aufhalten der Lawine. Die letztere ist vielleicht als nächste dran, gefunden zu werden.

Insgesamt bezieht sich das Textmaterial in ms. Gonbad vordergründig auf die Person Salur Kasans. In ms. Dresden tritt Kasan in der Handlung nicht als allzu großer Held in Erscheinung, das ist eben nur der Fall in den Prahlsversen, aus denen ich oben zitiert habe. Eine neue Generation von Helden ist in ms. Dresden herangewachsen (siehe die Bemerkungen zu den einzelnen Helden in Gökyay 1973: cxli–clxxix).

Die Helden und ihre Epitheta

Eine andere Verbindung zu möglich verschollenen Episoden des Dede Korkut-Zyklus bieten die Epitheta der Helden, die im Versteil der Handschrift und teilweise auch in der Kernfassung der Eroberung der Festung Kars und des Aras-Tals aufgelistet werden. Das Verhältnis der längeren formellen (*extended formulaic*) Epitheta zu den Episoden wird besprochen durch Başgöz (1978: 41–41), der die Meinung vertritt, dass sie als Gedächtnisstützen für den Sänger funktionieren, der so die Episoden den passenden Helden zuordnen und diese in die Geschichten richtig einreihen kann.

Die schlagkräftigsten Helden werden in ms. Dresden an zwei Stellen in identischer Reihenfolge aufgezählt: Kara Göne – Deli Dundar – Kara Budak – Scher Schemseddin – Bamsi Beirek – Jegenek – Arus – Bügdüs Emen – Alp Evren

(Tezcan & Boeschoten: 63–65, 111–113; Boeschoten 2008: 59–61, 135–137).¹⁶ Diese Reihenfolge schreibt den Status der jeweiligen Helden fest (Başgöz 1978: 33–34). Eine Aufzählung von Helden mit deren Epitheta findet sich auch in den Verspassagen in ms. Gonbad (f.12r11–14r1): Delü Dundar – Kara Budak – Jegenek – (Bügdüs) Emen – Chan Afschar. Diese ist im Vergleich zu ms. Dresden wesentlich gekürzt; insbesondere fehlen die Helden der älteren Generationen Kara Göne (Kasans Bruder) und Arus (Kasans Oheim). Zwei führende Helden der jüngeren Generation aus ms. Dresden, Bamsi Beirek und Basat, werden in der Handschrift gar nicht erwähnt. Neu in der Aufzählung ist aber Chan Afschar, der in ms. Dresden fehlt; er wird aber als Herr der Außen-Oghusen in einer anderen Quelle erwähnt (Gökyay 1973: cxliii). Obwohl er in der Aufzählung der Helden dem Außen-Oghusen Delü Dundar noch den Vortritt lässt, wird in ms. Gonbad Kasans Neffe Kara Budak zum Haupthelden (nach Kasan) stilisiert. Er wird als erster Kämpfer bei der Eroberung vom Aras-Tal und Kars genannt (f.25v1) und meldet sich für die Konfrontation mit dem als Drachen verkleideten Kasan (f.30v1).

Vergleichen wir die Epitheta von den in beiden Handschriften genannten Helden, die sich womöglich auf Episoden beziehen, dann ergibt sich folgendes Bild:

ms. Dresden

Deli Dundar:

- * Hat das Tor beim Pass mit dem Stahltor im Sturm genommen (?)
(*Demür qapu dervendindeki demür qapuyı depüp alan*)
- * Hat Kasan im Duell dreimal vom Pferd gestoßen

Kara Budak:

- * Hat die Festungen von Diyarbekir und Mardin im Sturm verwüstet
- * Hat König Kiptschak Blut spucken lassen
- * Hat Kasans Tochter mit viel Mut erobert

Jegenek:

- * Hat Kasan „Pfaffe“ geschimpft

Bügdüs Emen:

- * Hat das Antlitz des Propheten gesehen und war dessen Vertreter bei den Oghusen

ms Gonbad

Deli Dundar:

- * Hat Mangyschlak geplündert
- * Hat Derbend mit dem Stahltor im Sturm genommen (?)
(*Demir qapu Derbendi tepüp alan*)

¹⁶ In der zweiten Aufzählung ist in ms. Dresden Kara Budak versehentlich ausgelassen, er kommt aber vor in der Parallellstelle in ms. Vatikan (f.98v11-99r1).

- * Hat am Fluß Samur ein Trinkgelage veranstaltet

Kara Budak:

- * Hat Aleppo und Damaskus erobert

Jegenek:

- * Hat Kasan „Pfaffe“ geschimpft

(Bügdüs) Emen:

- * Hat in Mekka das Antlitz des Propheten gesehen und wurde dessen Vertreter bei den Oghusen

Der auffallendste Unterschied ist die geographische Verlagerung der Taten von Kara Budak. Auf der Basis der Übereinstimmungen scheint mir, dass die besten Kandidaten, wohinter sich eine verbreitete Episode oder Geschichte verbergen könnte, erstens der Eroberungszug von Deli/Delü Dundar bei oder gegen Derbend, und zweitens die Beleidigung Kasans durch Jegenek sind.

Die Herren der Oghusen als Herrscher

Ein auffälliger Unterschied der ms. Gonbad zu ms. Dresden ist die Tatsache, dass in den Epitheta einige Herren der Oghusen als Herrscher über eine bestimmte Region dargestellt werden, während die Oghusen in der Dresdener Handschrift sich in ihrem eigenen Stammesgebiet befinden. Deli Dundar, der generell mit dem Kaukasus und weiter (Mangyschlak östlich des Kaspischen Meeres) assoziiert wird, wird „Sultan der Tabassaranen“ genannt und (Bügdüs) Emen „Chef Kurdistans“ (*Kürdistānuḡ böyügi*). Kara Budak hat nicht nur Syrien erobert, er ist auch „Herrscher in Aleppo“ (*Ḥaleb ḡanı*) und sitzt auf „dem goldenen Thron Ägyptens“ – eine merkwürdige Verbindung zum Mamluken-Staat. Und Paj Bidschan, der in ms. Dresden figuriert als Vater Banu Tschitscheks, der Braut Bamsi Beireks, wird in ms. Gonbad (f.12v12 und f.25v2) ein *pādiṣāh* (wo wird nicht genannt), zu dem Bajindur Chan (auch *pādiṣāh* genannt) Chan Afschar als Boten schickt. Den Epitheta Chan Afschars zufolge hat sich ein Konflikt zwischen ihm und Bidschan ergeben, auch dahinter steckt vermutlich wieder eine Episode. Möglicherweise sind diese Herrschaftsbezeichnungen spätere Ergänzungen.

Dieser Aufsatz ist Maria Ivanics gewidmet,
Möge sie ihren Ruhestand genießen!

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Kaukázusi török népek kálváriája a népdalok tükrében A migráns válság kapcsán

Csáki Éva

Marinak

A krími tatárok történetét évtizedek óta kutató Ivanics Mária érdekessé tette számomra is a Kaukázust. Egy kihalófélben lévő kaukázusi török népnél, a karacsájoknál jártunk 2019 márciusában, de korábban, a törökországi karacsájokkal úgy 1996-ban már felvettük a kapcsolatot. Számos kutatás és gyűjtőút után jelentek meg velük kapcsolatos tanulmányaink.

A magyar népvándorlás szempontjából is igen nagy jelentőséggel bíró terület a Kaukázus északi előtere, ahol számos kisebb-nagyobb népcsoport, (többek közt a hun és az avar is) korábban és azóta is nyugat felé vette az irányt. Elég, ha csak a török nyelvűek közül a saragur, kutrigur, onogur, utrigur, onondur, onogundur, avar, kazár, bulgár, besenyő, kun népekre gondolunk, vagy ezek ilyen-olyan más népekkel keveredett utódaira, többet kellene tudnunk róluk, hogy kideríthessük, minél tisztábban láthassuk a magyarokra gyakorolt hatásukat.

A karacsáj-balkárokat történelmük során több névvel is illették, etnogenezisükbe a legkülönbözőbb csoportok kapcsolódtak be. Önelnevezésük *tavlu* 'hegyi' mellett van külső elnevezésük is, a karacsáj, melyet Tavkul (1994: 65) személynévi eredetűnek tart a karacsáj vezér Karcsa nevéből. Magyar nyelvterületen számos korai helynevéinkben¹ is szerepel ez a személynév. Rásonyi (1973: 109) a kun Karacsa névvel hozta összefüggésbe, mely nevet Kolozs megye ura viselte 1469-ben.²

13. századi grúz forrásokban kipszak néven emlegetik őket, nyugati forrásokban kunként. Közép-Ázsiából a 11. században az Irtis felől érkező kipszakok volgai bulgárokkal találkoztak. Egy csoportjuk a Kubán folyó vidékére telepedett (Tavkul 2012: 462). Az előnyomuló dzsingiszi seregekkel szemben az alánokkal egyesültek, de így is lerohanták őket a mongolok, emlékül hagyva rájuk számos közép-mongol nyelvi hatást, melyek vizsgálatával magam is próbálkoztam.

Nagyjából a 19. század közepéig belakták a karacsáj-balkárok Európa legmagasabb hegyének, az Elbruznak keleti és nyugati völgyeit egyaránt. Az egyes csoportokat a völgyek neve szerint emlegették, baszháni, csegemi, holami, bizingi és

¹ A valahai magyar nyelvterületen széltében-hosszában elterjedt helynév több szóösszetételben is előfordul, többnyire utótagként.

² Személynévből tisztségnév, majd helynév kialakulása az egész steppe övezetben ismert nyelvi jelenség, melyet mongol és török területeken is megfigyelhetünk.

balkári, vagy az oroszok öt völgyieknek, vagy öt hegyi csoportnak is hívták őket, egymást *alannak* szólították.

A karacsáj-balkárok őriznek magyar vonatkozású legendákat is, melyekből Hacieva (1996) és Tavkul (2004) is közölt párat. Számos kutató gyürkőzött már neki a sokrétű feladatnak, mely nem kevés eredménnyel kecsegtet. Magam Sipos János népzenekutatói tevékenysége kapcsán a népzenei vonatkozásokra, konkrétan a népi irodalmi szövegekre figyelek. Ezek közül nyúlok most a következő karacsáj-balkár és azeri példákhoz.

Karacsáj Ex 8.2a

*Biz çıqğan edik a voy Ullu Bashandan üzülüb
Da kirgen edik şam Teberdige voy voy tizilib
Biz umut etgenek ullu Teberdide çaşarğa
Bizge buyurulmad Muhunu da budayından aşarğa

Kel aruwçuğum alıb keteyim voyra rırara voy
Beri cuwuq kelçi oñ canıma
Seni anama kelin eteyim
Oltur meni caññı maşınama*

Elindultunk Nagy Bashanból örökre,
Odaértünk szent Teberdébe.
Azt reméltük, majd ott élhetünk,
Nem adatott meg, hogy Muhu búzájából együnk.

Gyere kedvesem, fogjuk magunkat,
Erre gyere, a jobb oldalamra!
Anyám menyévé teszlek,
Szállj fel az új kocsimra!

Megjegyzés: Nagy Bashan és Teberda a legismertebb karacsáj települések közül valók. Muhu pedig egy karacsáj puszta neve.

Karacsáj No 275

*Oy hoy marcala deydi da bu
Küz qoyçula Ucet awzuna kirdile deyle
Hoy alay da kirdile
İt gawurla bılanı qaydan bildile*

*Oy hoy marca deydi da bu
 Tuwdulanı da wa qaratornu sürdüle deyle
 Hoy alay da sürdüle
 Küz qoyçula da ulaq³ soydula aşarğa*

*Udzset völgyébe értek az őszi pásztorok,⁴
 Beérték a völgybe.
 Kutya gyaurok honnan értesültek róla?*

*A Tuwdu család barna lovait elrabolták,
 Nyájait elrabolták,
 Az őszi pásztorok vacsorára kecskegidát vágtak.*

Karacsáj No 279

*Ata curtha eltgen colla kesilib
 Oñluraqla çıqdıq entda bir cazğa
 Tüye cıyın barad qumnu tizilib
 Ala bara bolurlanı Kafkazğa*

*Başçı tüye köllendired cıyının
 Tiri atlay ant etgença talmazğa
 Başçı bolsa bir onowğa sıyınıb
 Sürkelib da ceter edik Kafkazğa*

*Elválták a visszautat hazafelé,
 Mi erősebbek még egy tavaszt megértünk.
 Teve karaván halad a homokban sorba,
 Vajon eljutnak-e a Kaukázusba?*

*A vezér teve biztatja a többieket,
 Bátran lépdél, fáradhatatlanul.
 Ha már vezér, hűen fogadalmához
 Akár hason csúszva is eljutunk a Kaukázusba.⁵*

Karacsáj No 286

*Kökge termilib ösgen naratla
 Caşıl çepkenli tabiğat
 Ata curtumu seyir haparı
 Sawlay duniyağa ayılad*

³ A 'kiskecske, kecskegida' jelentésű szó egy korai nyugati ótörök jövevénytű szó a magyarban (WOT 638).

⁴ A nyári legelőről a nyájakat leterelő pásztorok.

⁵ A Szíriában rekedt karacsáj-balkárok történetéről szól ez az ének.

*Atam anam da sense Qaraçay
Kiriş tutuşub tawlarıñ
Üyüm küñüm da sense Qaraçay
Erib ketginçi buzlarıñ*

Égbe nyúló hatalmas fenyők,
A zöldrúhás természet
Elmeséli az egész világnak
Hazám érdekes történetét.

Te vagy, karacsáj föld apám és anyám is.
Lánchegységként húzódó hegyeid,
Otthonom, napom is te vagy karacsáj föld,
Míg jegeid mind el nem olvadnak.

A cári oroszok kaukázusi hódításai idején (1864) költöztek nyájaikkal mind magasabb területekre a hegyoldalakon a karacsájok. Egy részük a kivándorlást választotta, miután 1886-ban megkapták a kérvényükre az Oszmán Birodalom Menekültügyi Igazgatósága engedélyét. A hátramaradottak *Stampulçula* néven emlegetik ezt a nagy, kb. 1500 főből álló első kivándorló csoportot. Őket az anatóliai Tokat és Eskişehir környéki falvakba telepítettek le.

*Stampulçula Stampulga ketdile
Mında kalganlaga ne kıynlıkı cetdile
Ol küñlede bizge bolur bolgandı
Ak betleden kızıl nürle ongandı*

*Bizni elibiz kolan hudiyleden tolgandı
Ol küñle maşharları küñüdü
Allay koturbaşnı ceti cahanim üyüdü
Cılav boldu Teberdini ulla toyları*

*Mangıray kaldı Gata kıynlını
Buv Ölgende koyları
Teberdide kibik kara kozu soymayla
Para almayın üy salkınlaga koymayla*

*Kemele kelelle bizni allabızga çabhanlay
Biz carhlı Stampuldan kalmay keterek*

*Burun kibik Teberdini tabhanlay
Oy igi sagan Teberdi kobannı tabared*

*Sıyl Şamda ötmek bla aşarga
Carathan Allahdan buyruk tabared
Burun kibik tik künnümde
Ceti el bolub caşarga...*

(Sipos – Tavkul 2012: 86)

Megérkeztek Isztambulba a kivándorlók,
A hátrahagyottakat nagy csapás érte
Minden megtörtént, ami csak történhetett,
A fehér arcokról eltűnt a fény.

Megtelt a falunk tarka ördögökkel,
Azok a napok a végítélet napjai lettek.
A magára maradtnak a hét pokla
Sírásra váltak Teberdi híres mulatságai.

A szegény Gata birkanyájai
Buv Ölgen völgyében bégetnek,
Fekete bárányt nem vágnak már Teberdiben,
Ingyen nem védelmeznék a házak.

Hajók érkeznek elénk szinte röpülve,
Mi gyarlók, nem akartunk Isztambulban maradni,
A régi Teberdihez hasonló helyet kerestünk,
Ó, bár megtaláltuk volna a Teberdi folyót!

Szent Damaszkuszban kenyeret ettünk volna
Mindenható Allah rendelése szerint
Mint régi napjainkban,
Hét faluba⁶ telepedve éltünk volna...

Az első kivándorlókat később több csoport is követte, sőt egy részük a mai Szíria területére telepedett, ahonnét rettenetes körülmények között kellett tovább menekülniük a jelenleg is folyó háború miatt.

A helyben maradt karacsájokat sem kímélte az élet. A második világháború idejére már olyan sokat szenvedtek az oroszoktól, hogy bárkivel összefogtak volna ellenük. Így lettek a gyötrelmes sztálini korszakban a németek szövetségesei, mely okból a szovjetek száműzték őket több más kaukázusi néppel együtt. Akik túléltek a sivatagi, vagy szibériai száműzetést, azok sem térhettek vissza régi otthonaikba az amnesztia után.

⁶ A magyar településnevek vizsgálata is várat még magára. Az állítólag besenyőkből hétfalusi csángókká lett magyarok közt is több karacsáj családnév került lejegyzésre.

Sipos János 1999-ben végzett öthetes azeri terepmunkája igen sikeres volt, hatszáz ötven dallamot rögzített negyvenhét településen. Azóta többször is járt, jártunk Azerbajdzsánban. Minden konferencia utat kiegészítve kisebb-nagyobb gyűjtésekkel.

A Kaukázus déli szomszédságában élő azeriknek is van okuk a kesergésre. Gyönyörű siratóik közül, a karabahi menekülttábor lakóitól felvett dalok szövegeiből válogattam. Van, amikor siratónak, keservesnek, olykor viszont altatónak "álcázott" formában adnak hangot a honvágyuknak, végtelen fájdalomuknak. Nem csak az otthonuk, a temetőik, a hátrahagyott hegyeik is égető emlékként élnek a gyászolóknak.

ex 40a *Ağ*

*Éle bil, qanadı qırır quşam, uça bilmirem, uça bilmirem,
Zalım düşmən kesib aranı, kéçebilmirem, kéçebilmirem, hem, éy.
Déyirem: ay, balam, ay, balam, ay, balam,
Mezarımız üssüne gédebilmirem, gédebilmirem, gédebilmirem.
Qasimova Réyhan, 1927, Ermenistan,
(Sipos 2009: 347)*

Sirató

Törött szárnyú madár vagyok, nem szállhatok, nem szállhatok,
Kegyetlen ellenség elzárta az utat, át nem mehetek, át nem mehetek, jaj.
Mondom: jaj, kicsim, jaj, kicsim, jaj, kicsim,
A temetőnkbe sem mehetek el, nem mehetek el, nem mehetek.

6a–12 *Laylay*

*Laylay, vetenim, laylay,
Gezmeye yad ölke,
Ölmeye veten yaxşı.
Veten, ay, veten,
Veten, ay, veten.
Dağılan veten, ay, veten,
Kor veten, ay, veten.

İstey'rem vetenmi,
İstey'rem gedem, ölem vetende.
Vetenim, ay, vetenim,
Vetenim, ay, vetenim.
Meherremova Töhve İmanxan qızı (84), Qarabağ
(Sipos 2009: 360)*

Sirató
 Jaj, hazám, jaj,
 Kirándulni az idegen föld,
 Meghalni a haza a jó.
 Haza, jaj, haza,
 Haza, jaj, haza.
 Széthulló haza, jaj, haza,
 Vak haza, jaj, haza.

 Akarom a szülőföldemet,
 Haza akarok menni meghalni.
 Hazám, jaj, hazám,
 Hazám, jaj, hazám.

15a–9 *Ağl*

*Göyde bulud yan géder,
 Açma yaram, éy, ana, qan géder,
 Gelinlerimiz, qızlarımız girev géder.*

*Dağda duman yéri var, ay, bala,
 Qaşa keman yéri var.
 Biz d' istiri vetene gédek,
 Vetanda güman yérimiz var,
 Éle sizde de güman yériniz var, éy, éy.*

*Déyr: éy, men aşiq o günéyler,
 Şeh düşmüş o günéyler,
 Vetanı alsalar, vetana gétseler,
 Gétsek, bayrammızı o gün éylerik, o gün éylerik.*

*Déyr: ay, benim, aq kağızım,
 Dili yox, lal kağızım,
 Gédirsən vetana,
 Bizden dilden dili kağızım.*

*Qalanın burcu menen, ay, éller,
 Qalanın burcu menen,
 Dil bilmez gürcü menen,
 Baş qoydum Tumas dağında,
 Ölsem d' incimerem.*

*Çox gelinlerimiz, qızlarımız girev gétti,
 Çox bize zülüm oldu, évler yandı, eşikler⁷ yandı.
 Gelinler, qızların hamısı, çoxu şehid oldu,
 Oğlanların çox şehid oldu, évler yandı,
 Bir yağı éline géçen olmadı.*

Esedova Dilşad Ehmed gızı (68) Qarabağ
 (Sipos 2009: 363)

Sirató

Az égen ferdén száll a felhő,
 Ne tépd fel sebemet, jaj, anya, folyik a vér,
 Menyeink, lányaink, fogságba estek.

A hegyen ködös helyek vannak, jaj, kedves,
 Ívelt a szemöldököd.

A hazánkba akarunk menni,
 A hazánkban vágyott helyeink vannak,
 Nektek is vannak vágyott helyeitek, jaj, jaj.

Azok a déli hegyoldalak,
 Azok a harmatlepte déli hegyoldalak,
 Bár visszafoglalnák a hazát, bár hazamehetnénk,
 Ha visszamehetünk, ünnepeinket azon a napon üljük meg, azon a napon
 üljük meg.

Jaj, én fehér levelem,
 Nyelve nincs, néma levelem,
 Ha elmegy a hazába,
 Adj rólunk hírt, beszélő levelem.

A vár bátyája vagyok, jaj, népem,

A vár bátyája vagyok,
 Nyelvet nem tudó idegen vagyok
 Mindenemet Tumasz hegyén hagytam,
 Ha meghalok sem bánom.

⁷ A török *eşik* 'kapı boşluğunun alt yanında bulunan alçak basamak' (Eren 1999: 140). A kaukázusi térségben beszélt török nyelvekben, így a karacsájoknál is szélesebb jelentésmezőre tart számot, mert nem csak az ajtó alatti kis területet, hanem a külvilágot is jelöli. Számos kipsak nyelvbe a közép-mongol eredetű *bosuyā* 'küszöb' jövevényszó is bekerült.

Sok menyünk, lányunk fogságba esett,
 Velünk sok kegyetlenkedés történt, égtek a házak, égett a ház körül.
 Menyeink, lányaink közül sokan mártírhaltak,
 Fiaink közül sokan mártírhaltak; égtek a házak,
 Semmi sem maradt az ellenségnek.

*Laylay*⁸

*Ezizim, ağlamazdım,
 Gülerdim, ağlamazdım.
 Atam qocalıb ölse,
 Men qara bağlamazdım.*

*Eziziyem, balam men,
 Tirmeyem men, şalam men.
 İmam atam ölübdür,
 Meler gezen menem, men.*
 Ehmedova Cemile Mısır qızı (36), Zaqatala, Çobanköl
 Sipos (2009: 145)

Sirató

Kedvesem, nem sírtam volna,
 Nevettem volna, nem sírtam volna.
 Ha apám megöregedve halt volna meg,⁹
 Nem öltöttem volna feketét.¹⁰

Szentem, gyermekem,
 Drága kelme vagyok, fejkendő vagyok.
 Imám atyám meghalt,
 A zokogva bolyongó én vagyok, én.

6a–2 Laylay

*Laylay dedim adına,
 Haqq eşitsin dadına.
 Her vaxt layla dəyende,
 Balam düşer yadıma.*
 Terana Oktay qızı, 1973, Bakı, Merdekan

⁸ Az altató és a sirató az élet két végpontjához kapcsolódó műfaj. Számos esetben megfigyeltük, hogy magyar és török adatközlők esetében is átsaphat egyik a másikba. Itt is ennek vagyunk tanúi.

⁹ Nem pedig idő előtt.

¹⁰ Vagyis nem gyászolnék.

Altató
 Altatót énekeltem a nevére,
 Az Isten vigyázzon rá.¹¹
 Mindig, mikor altatót énekelek,
 A kicsim jut az eszembe.

8a–3 Ağı

*Ezizim, balam, veten yaxşı,
 Géymege balam, keten yaxşı.
 Senin bir günüvi göreydim, bala,*

*Soora öleydim, ne yaxşı.
 Ezizim, balam, ay, balamdı,
 Ezizim, balamın balası balamdı, balamdı.
 Tağıyéva Mehfuza (56) Quba
 (Sipos 2009: 437)*

Sirató
 Szentem, gyermekem, a haza jó,
 Hordani a vászonból készült ruha jó.
 Bár legalább egy napodat láttam volna,¹² kicsim,

 Azután halnék meg, milyen jó lett volna.
 Szentem, kicsim, jaj, kicsim,
 Szentem, kicsim kicsije az én kicsim, kicsim.

A kaukázusi népeknél a háborúk mellett a járványok is több kivándorlást idéztek elő. Ezekről szóló énekek is dokumentáltak a Sipos archívumban (www.zti.hu/sipos_gyujtesek).

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¹¹ Dada yětmek (yětişmek) 'segíteni'.

¹² Amikor életben vagy.

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On Discourse Types and Clause Combining in Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmā

Éva Á. Csató and Lars Johanson

Introduction

This article is dedicated to Szeged, because of our deep attachment to the Department of Altaistics, a fabulous center of scientific research.¹ The topic of the article, *Das Buch der Dschingis-Legende (Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmā)* (2002), was edited by Mária Ivanics together with Mirkasym A. Usmanov. It presents a reconstructed version of the book of the Chingis legend in transcription and facsimile accompanied by a richly annotated vocabulary. The stories presented in the volume were collated by an unknown person in the 1680s. In the introduction, Professor Mária Ivanics calls the reader's attention to the importance of the linguistic evaluation of the different parts of the text. As she points out, dating the individual parts requires a thorough examination of the linguistic peculiarities of the manuscript (Ivanics & Usmanov 2002: 13). The aim of our present article is to respond to this invitation and compare some of the discourse types occurring in the texts and describe the clause-chaining strategies they contain. This scholarly edition of the Chingis legend provides inspiring analyses and data, which could be used as resources in further studies.

The language of the texts

Linguistically, the work is not uniform, but reflects the peculiar ethnic mix of the population of the Volga-Ural region. The foundation is the East Turkic language used in the Golden Horde, and Oghuz and Kipchak elements are represented in the morphology. Because of the archaic spelling, the first chapter preserves several words and phrases that reflect the state of Turkic at the end of the 13th century. In the other chapters the vocabulary of the Turkic peoples of the Volga-Ural region is prominently represented. In addition to words from Tatar, Kazakh and Bashkir, several words only used in the vocabulary of Siberian Turkic languages are found. Throughout the text, synonymous Kipchak and Oghuz words are used in parallel. The genealogy at the very beginning is more recent than the other chapters; *ol-* 'to

¹ We are grateful to Professor Birsal Karakoç for her thoughtful comments on this paper.

be' is used, not the older form *bol-*. Presumably this text was not originally part of the collection, but was added later. The language used in the story of Chingis is the oldest in the text and shows a striking resemblance to the language of the Oghuz-nāmā, which dates from the 13th century and is written in Uyghur script (Danka 2019). In the entire manuscript, the initial phoneme *y-* is represented by *ǰ-* or *č-*, which indicates dialectal differences.

Irregularities

The discussion of irregularities in the text, i.e. the occurrence of features characterizing different Turkic varieties, is an important issue, as Ivanics points out in the introduction to the volume. According to János Eckmann (1963: 305) and Gerhard Doerfer (1976: 88–89), five main characteristics can be used to distinguish between the three important Middle Turkic literary languages Old Ottoman, Kipchak, and Chaghatay: the adjective form, the ablative suffix, the dative of the 3rd person possessive form, initial *t-/d-*, and *ä/e* in the first syllable. Chaghatay is very close to Old Uyghur, whereas Kipchak stands between Chaghatay and Old Ottoman. See Table 1.

	<i>Old Uyghur</i>	<i>Old Ottoman</i>	<i>Kipchak</i>	<i>Chaghatay</i>
Adjective form	{+IG}, {+IU}	{+lu}	{+I}, {+II}	{+I}, {+II}
Ablative suffix	{-dIn}	{+dAn}	{+dAn}	{+dIn}
Dative of the 3rd person possessive	{+InA}	{+Ina}	{+InA}	{+IngA} > {+IGA}
Initial <i>t-/d-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>d-</i> (mostly)	<i>t-</i> (mostly) ~ <i>d-</i>	<i>t-</i> ~ seldom, late <i>d-</i>
<i>ä/e</i> in the first syllable	<i>ä</i>	<i>ä</i>	<i>ä</i>	<i>e</i>

Table 1. Five main characteristics distinguishing between Turkic literary languages

Regarding texts demonstrating mixed features, we refer readers to Gerhard Doerfer's (1989) review of *Münyetü'l Ğuzāt*, edited by Mustafa Uğurlu (1987). This work is available in a vocalized manuscript from 1446/1467, so it belongs to the (late) Middle Turkic period. Overall, the text has a Chaghatay structure, but a certain amount of Kipchak influence can also be found in it. It is one of the many works

written outside of the actual area, where Chaghatay had its validity. It was composed in Egypt and exhibits mixed characteristics of a Mamluk Kipchak-Old Ottoman dialect and a Chaghatay-Kipchak idiolect; thus it is a *tögül-däyil dili* and an *ermäz-tögül dili*. It mostly uses {+lIG} and {+InA}, the clearly Chaghatay vowel *e*, and the Kipchak negation particle *dögül*. It does not include the well-known Macaronian Chaghatay-Ottoman *oḷya-boḷya dili*, found in poems intended to be Chaghatay by Old Ottoman authors.

The Chingis legend is further evidence of the tremendous influence of Chaghatay, which radiated into the early Kazan literary language. Both Chaghatay and Kipchak features occur in the texts.

The text

The 2002 edition of *Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmā* is composed of six chapters. The identification of the parts of the text in the manuscript is given in parentheses.

Chapter 1 (f.1 v–28r) relates the birth of Chingis Khan and his ascent to power. The genealogy at the beginning is a later addition. As mentioned above, this is the oldest part, presumably from the 13th century.

Chapter 2 (f.29r–41r) consists of several parts, beginning with the story of Timur's birth, his later ascent to power, his campaigns against the Ottomans, the towns of Bulghar and the Russian town Wladimir, and finally the conversion of Amet and Samet Khan to Islam. These narratives are thought to be from the middle of the 15th century.

Chapter 3 (f.42r–44v) tells about Saltchi who reigned in Astrakhan in the 14th century and narrates the biography of his father Isaoyli Ahmet. This part is a genuine love story with literary quality, allegedly from the end of the 14th century.

Chapter 4 is a short genealogy describing the family tree of Edige Bey (d. 1420), the founder of the Noghay Horde. The story must be from the period after 1602.

Chapter 5, also a short text, lists the places of hegemony of the different khans and historical figures who at the end of the 17th century were still present in the memory of the community.

Chapter 6 differs from the previous chapters in style and language. It narrates the main historical events of the Volga-Ural region from the 13th to the end of the 18th century.

Discourse types

Several discourse types are found in the volume. Johanson (1971: 76–87) deals with Turkish discourse types that are basically different from each other with respect to how viewpoint-aspect oppositions are realized in them. Each discourse type is based on one finite verb form, {-DI}, {-mİš}, {-mİštİr}, {-(V)r} or {-(Ø)Iyor}, which

functions as the “key”, defining aspectual values. The {-DI}-based narrative is the most differentiated type and guarantees an optimal contrastive development of potential functions. Types of more limited inventories do not allow the realization of all these relevant qualities, since the maximum contrast possibilities are missing; i.e. a restricted set of verb forms are selected. The options include the synchronic report, the historical tunc narratives based on {-DI}, the {-mİš}-based narrative, the {-mİštIr}-based narrative, and non-deictic nunc narratives based on {-(V)r} and on {-(Ø)Iyor}. Mixed discourse types also occur.

Chapters of *Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmā* contain parts which differ with respect to discourse types. Some of them are basic, restricted to a combination of a few finite verb forms and either completely lack or only have a limited set of clause-combining devices, whereas others are more elaborate, and make use of a rich inventory of finite and non-finite verb forms using advanced clause-combining devices.

In the present article, we extend the description of discourse types to also include the types of clause-combining devices employed in them. Johanson (1993) describes a typology of clause-combining strategies available in Turkic for building causal sentences. The establishment of semantic relations between two predications in a text can be marked explicitly or implicitly. Clauses can be juxtaposed, e.g., He came. He sat down; connected, e.g., He came. Then he sat down; or incorporated, e.g., Having come he sat down. In the following, we will refer to these basic distinctions using Johanson’s typological framework.

In the descriptions of the basic features of discourse types represented in the Chingis legend we will summarize the finite verb forms defining a given discourse type and also the typical clause-combining strategies occurring in them.

We will begin with the most restricted discourse type and continue with the more elaborate ones.

Discourse type 1

This most restricted discourse type is used in some of the inserted poetic texts. It is based on the aorist as *Köb et-är* [multiply-AOR] ‘X multiplies’, *Xizmät kıl-dur-ur-lar* [service make-CAUS-AOR-PL] ‘They make (somebody) serve’. In the following example, a non-modifying converb, *kečir-ib* [accompany-CONV] ‘accompanying + and’, is also used. The converb here functions as a clause-combining device establishing an “and” relation between two consecutive events. The converb clause is syntactically incorporated by the bound converb junctor, but semantically is at the same narrative level as the matrix clause.

*Ĵavdan elin köb etär.
 Qala tübün or etär.
 Därva:zäsini keñ etär.
 Čav elgä yat nökärgä sirrini aytmaslar.
 Uluyların törgä keçirib kiçiklärin xızmat kıldururlar.
 (f.9v: 18; f.10r: 1–3)*

He makes his people more numerous than the enemy.
 He builds an earthwork (protected by a ditch) around the castle.
 He makes its portal wide.
 They do not disclose its secret to hostile people, to alien companions.
 They show the eminent persons to the place of honor and let the common people serve (them).

Discourse type 2

The Chingis legend begins with a short narrative, which presents the background of the story proper. This introductory text contains main clauses without any clause-combining devices. The inventory of finite verb forms is restricted. The terminal anteriority suffix in {-DI} or *er-di* [be-TERM] ‘was’ is used with a propulsive function; i.e. it drives the narration forward. The sequence of consecutive events is interrupted by intraterminal forms in {-(V)r} *erdi*, describing situations characterizing a period of time in the anteriority, e.g., *Bit-är er-di* [grow-AOR be-TERM] ‘X used to grow/was growing’. Existential clauses are based on *Bar er-di* [existent be-TERM] ‘X used to be/was present’.

The discourse is mostly built as a chain of juxtaposed finite sentences without any junctor. The item *ämma:* is employed here as an interjection. A temporal/conditional clause is based on a verb form in {-sA}, e.g., *Saç-ın tara-sa yinčü tök-ül-ür er-di* [hair-POSS3.ACC comb-HYP pearl pour-PASS-AOR be-TERM] ‘When she combed her hair, pearls were pouring’. The syntactic status of the clause in {-sA} is unclear. The hypothetical form {-sA} can build finite sentences. Thus an asyndetic juxtaposition of the clauses *Saç-ın tara-sa* ‘(Imagine) she combs her hair’ and *Yinčü tök-ül-ür er-di* ‘Pearls were pouring’ is possible. However, Turkic varieties demonstrate clear evidence of the use of {-sA} as a converb suffix as well.

*Ävväl zama:nda Aq Deñizniñ içindä Ma:lta degän šähär bar erdi.
 Ol šähär xa:ninñ atı Altun Xan degän erdi.
 Xa:nışinñ atı Körlävič degän erdi.
 Ol eki pa:diša:hdin bir kız tuydı.
 Kızniñ atı ‘Üläma:lik Körikli atadılar.
 Taķi ayya küngä körgüzmädilär.
 Kırk <qulač taš sära:yda qoydılar>.
 Ämma: körki andağ erdi!*

Külsä kuru ayaçya yapraq bitär erdi.
Tağur yergä bağsa ölän bitär erdi.
Saçın tarasa yinçü tökülür erdi.
<Tükürsä altun kümüş bitär erdi.>
Ämma: dünya:da bir artuğ tuymuş ja:n erdi.
Qaşında da:yäläri bar erdi.
Özinä yaqın da:yäsiniñ atı Orda Xa:n degän erdi.
 (f.2v: 9–16, f.3r: 1–6)

‘Once upon a time in the Mediterranean Sea there was a land called Malta.
 The name of the khan of that land was Altun Khan.
 His wife’s name was Körlävič.
 To these two padishahs a girl was born.
 They named their daughter Celestial Beauty.
 They did not even show her to the moon or the sun.
 They placed her in an outside castle of forty fathoms.
 Oh, how beautiful she was!
 When she smiled at a withered tree, its leaves sprouted.
 When she looked at an arid patch of earth, the grass sprouted.
 When she combed her hair, pearls were pouring.
 When she spat, gold and silver appeared.
 Oh, she was a unique human being in the world.
 There were nurses by her side.
 The name of her favorite nurse was Orda Khan.’

Chapter 5 (f46r), a short text, lists the places of hegemony of the different khans and historical figures, who at the end of the 17th century were still present in the memory of the community. In this text, the events are marked for anteriority with the terminals {-DI} or *er-di* and intraterminals with the aorist + *erdi*, e.g., *bolur erdi* ‘was (at the given time)’ as in discourse type 2. In addition, non-anteriority is coded with nominal predicates + *turur* and *bar turur* ‘is existent’.

Discourse type 3

Chapter 4 (f45r) is a short genealogy of Edige Bey. This text makes use of a somewhat extended inventory of finite forms. Anteriority is marked with the terminals {-DI} or *er-di*. A postterminal form in + {-DÜr} is used for anterior events of relevance for the time of narration, e.g., *Müslüman bol-dur-updur* [Muslim become-CAUS-POST] ‘X has become a Muslim’. Non-anteriority is coded with the aorist, e.g., *Kä'bä-dä yat-ur* [Kaba-LOC lie-AOR] ‘X rests in Kaba’. This chapter ends with a non-finite form, a participant nominal in {-GAn} functioning as a predicate: *Ämma: Edigä Biy Toqtamış Xa:n-ıñ ulus-ın ol biyälä-di* [in turn E.B. T.Kh.-GEN people-POSS3.ACC he rule.over-TERM] *Edigä Biy oyli Nu:räzin Mirza-dur*

vā bala-sin ulus-in biylä-gän [E.B. son-POSS3 N.M.-COP.PRTCL and child-POSS3.ACC people-POSS3.ACC rule.over-PN] ‘Edigä Bey in turn, he ruled over Toqtamış Khan’s people. Edigä Bey, his son is Nu.räzin Mirza, who is the one who ruled over his children and people’. In this example the conjunction *vā* is used to coordinate two predicates.

Discourse type 4

In the subsequent part of the Chingis legend, a dialogue takes place between the girl and her nurse. This is an example of an elaborate discourse type, rich in finite and non-finite verb forms as well as clause-combining devices. This is how it begins:

Künlärdä bir kün ba:liḡ olḡandın soḡ aytḡ kim.
"Ay Orda Xa:n sän bu säre.ydın čika[r]sän taşkaru nä körärsän?" dedi.
"Ämma: dünḡa: degän bu sära:ymu dur ya: özgä yer?
Bu sära:ydın başḡa bar müdur ya: oşbu sära:y içi müdür?" dedi.
 (f.3r: 9–12, f.3v: 1–2)

One day, after she had become an adult, she spoke as follows:

“Oh, Orda Khan when you leave the saray what do you see outside?” she said.

“After all, is the world this saray or another place?

Is there anything else than this saray? Or is the world the inside of this saray?” she said.

This discourse type is based on terminals in {-DI} and *i-di* telling a sequence of consecutive events in the anteriority. These terminals are accompanied by an unrestricted inventory of finite verb forms such as aorist, voluntative, + {-DUR}, <A> + {-DUR}, optative, imperative, evidential particle *er-miş*, pluperfect, e.g., *De-gän er-di-m* ‘I had said’, or nominal predicate + copular particle *dur* in the present.

The particle *kim* is used as a sentence-final element pointing anaphorically to the following sentence. Utterances of participating speakers are announced by a clause such as *Ayt-di kim* [speak-TERM PRTCL] ‘X spoke [what follows]’ and followed by a direct quotation, which is complemented to the predicate *De-di* ‘X said’. Different forms of the verb *de-* ‘to say’ have developed into quotation particles (e.g., Karakoç 2009), which are obligatorily used for embedding object complements of a verbum dicendi, for instance, Turkish “*Yardımcı ol!*” *diye söyledi* [help.IMP QUOT.PRTCL say-TERM] “‘Help!’ saying X spoke’. See some examples for the use of *kim* in the text studied here: *Körär kim. Xa:mila: olubdur* [see-AOR PRTCL pregnant become-POST] ‘He sees the following: she has become pregnant’. *Anday attı kim* [so.much shoot-TERM PRTCL] plus a main clause with a finite predicate ‘He shot it so much!’

The verbum dicendi, *de-* ‘to say’, in the terminal as *de-di* ‘X said’ or in a converb *te-p/de-b* takes different types of finite clauses as complements. Examples: “*Nä kör-är-sän?*” *dedi* [what you see-AOR-2SG say-TERM] ‘X said “What do you see?”’ “*Dünya de-gän taşkaru keñ jiha:n-dur*” *dedi* [world say-PN outside wide world COP.PRTCL say-TERM] ‘“What is called the world is the wide world outside”, she said’. “*Ol närsä-lär-ni maña körgüz-gil!*” *dedi* [that thing-PL-ACC I.DAT show-IMP say-TERM] ‘“Show me those things!”’, she said’. The quotation can consist of several juxtaposed finite clauses, e.g., “*Ič-i sän-iñ bol-sun! Taş-ı mänim bol-sun!*” *de-di* [inside-POSS3 you-GEN become-VOL3SG outside-POSS3 I.GEN become-VOL3SG say-TERM] ‘“May its inside be yours! May its outside be mine!”’, he said’. “*Öl-sä-m öl-äyin. Körgüz-gil!*” *de-di* [die-HYP-1SG die-VOL1SG show-IMP say-TERM] ‘“If I die let me die! Show (it to me)!”, she said’.

Direct quotations can be incorporated into a matrix clause as a complement of *te-b*, the ⟨B⟩ converb of the verb ‘to say’, e.g., *Duyın Bayan öl-di. Jengämiz Alanyo tul kal-di te-b ödür-gä kal-di-lär* [D.B. die-TERM sister-in-law-POSS1PL A. widow remain-TERM say-CONV funeral.ceremony-DAT come-TERM-3PL] ‘“Duyın Bayan has died. Alanyo, our sister-in-law, has become a widow”, they said and came to the funeral ceremony’. The semantic relation between the converb clause and the matrix clause is non-modifying.

In this discourse type, non-finite verb forms, action nominals and participant nominals build small clauses functioning as subject clauses or adjuncts. For instance, in the following example the subject clause is based on the action nominal in {-GAN} + possessive suffix: *Munday uyat iş käl-gän-i yoq er-di* [such shameful thing come-AN-POSS3 non-existent be-TERM] literally ‘Such a shameful thing did not happen’. The subject of the action nominal, *munday uyat iş* ‘such a shameful thing’, is in the nominative. In the example *Ölü-m-dän hiç kurtul-yu-muz yoq er-miş* [death-ABL never escape-AN-POSS1PL non-existent be-POST] ‘There is apparently no escape from death’, the subject clause is based on {-GU} + possessive suffix representing the subject. The old modal marker {-GU} denotes actions that are appropriate or expected to occur. The infinitive in {-mAK} builds a purposive clause with subject control, which implies that the subject of the matrix clause is interpreted as the first actant of the infinitive: *Kız-ın körmäk-kä kel-di* [daughter-POSS3.ACC see-AN-DAT come-TERM] ‘He came to see his daughter’.

Participant nominals are used, for instance in attributive position, e.g., *kör-gän kün* [see-PN light] meaning in the context ‘the light X saw’, *sönmäs čira:yı* ‘her candle which does not go out’, *mänim nu:r-di:n kuyaş-dın bol-yan oylum* [I.GEN light-ABL sun-ABL be.born-PN son-POSS1SG] ‘my son who is born from the light, from the sun’. The diathetic relation between the participant nominal and the head noun is unspecified; see the first example *kör-gän kün*.

The most frequent converb in this discourse type is the ⟨B⟩ converb. This non-finite verb form is used in non-modifying function to render consecutive sequences of events, e.g., *Huş-ı ket-üb öl-ä kal-di* [consciousness leave-CONV die-CONV remain-TERM] ‘She fainted and remained in the state of dying’. In this non-

modifying function, the converb can be used repeatedly as a clause-chaining device, e.g., *Da.yä-lär-i xa.n-ya bar-ib “Nä ayt-ur-miz?” de-b yiyla-š-ib oltur-di-lar* [nurse-PL-POSS3 khan-DAT go-CONV what say-AOR-1PL say-CONV cry-COOP-CONV sit-TERM-3PL] ‘Her nurses went to the Khan and said: “What should we say?” and sat crying together’. The last converb *yiylašib* ‘crying’ is used in a modifying sense, as the translation shows. The ⟨A⟩ converb is usually doubled and always modifying, e.g., *qayyur-a qayyur-a* [mourn-CONV mourn-CONV] ‘mourning’. The hypothetical/conditional converb in {-sA} is frequently employed to build temporal/conditional clauses, e.g., *Kör-sä-η öl-är-sän* [see-HYP-2SG die-AOR-2SG] ‘If you see it, you will die’.

Complex converbs are semantically more explicit, i.e. they define the semantic relation to the context more clearly. The converb in {-GAn-din} *soη* renders the temporal meaning ‘after having V-ed’, e.g., *ba:liy ol-yan-din soη* [adult become-AN-ABL after] ‘Having become an adult ...’, whereas {-GAn} *üčün* ‘because of’ has a causal meaning, e.g., *buz-yan üčün* [destroy-AN for] ‘because X broke it’. The converb suffix {-GA-II} means ‘since’, e.g., *çift bol-ğa-li* [pair become-CONV] ‘since we got married’.

Converb clauses can have their own subject, e.g., *Anlar qayt-ib käl-ä-tur-yan-da orman-dan bir qavm kiši-lär çik-ti-lar* [they return-CONV come-CONV stand-AN-LOC forest-ABL a group person-PL come.out-TERM-3PL] ‘When they were returning, a group of people came out of the forest’.

A semantic connection between clauses can be more or less explicitly established by using junctors, which most often occur in clause-initial position. Some examples:

ya: ‘or’

taķi ‘and’, e.g., *Örä tur-di-lar taķi ay-di-lar* [get.up-TERM-PL and speak-TERM-PL] ‘They got up and spoke’

an-din, *an-din soη* ‘thereafter’, e.g., *An-din X aydi* ‘Then X said’; after a converb: *de-b an-din soη* [say-CONV that-ABL after] ‘said and then’

yänä ‘and’, ‘besides’, e.g., *Yänä X aydi* ‘X moreover said’

er-sä ol vaķit-da ‘in that time’

amma: ‘but’

anıη üčün-kim ‘because’

äylä ol-sa ‘therefore’

vä yänä ‘and moreover’

mägär ‘but’, ‘if’

Postverbial constructions modifying the actional content are often used, e.g., *Ešit-ib käl-di-lär* [hear-CONV come-TERM.3PL] ‘They got to hear’. Sometimes auxiliary verbs are in the same inflectional form as the lexical verb, e.g., *Dünya:-din öt-ti ket-di* [world-ABL pass-TERM leave-TERM] ‘X died (definitely)’ (Csató et al. 2019).

Discourse type 5

Chapter 3 (f.42r–44v), telling about Saltchi, represents a more elaborate form of discourse type 4. Anteriority is marked with the terminals {-DI} or *er-di*. Anteriority in the anteriority is rendered by {-GAn} *erdi*, e.g., *Ay-i kün-i yet-kän er-di* [month-POSS3 day-POSS3 arrive-POST be-TERM] ‘Her month and day had arrived’. Intraterminal anteriority is in aorist + *erdi*, e.g., *Sıyla-r er-di* [respect-AOR be-TERM] ‘He respected her’. Non-anteriority is marked with the aorist and in nominal predicates with *tur-ur*.

Different types of modifying converbs are used, such as {-GUn-čA}, e.g., *kel-gün-čä* ‘when arriving’.

The main difference from discourse type 4 is that non-finite, left-branching object clauses based on an action nominal occur. In the previously discussed discourse type, this kind of incorporation does not occur. Examples: *Ĵa:nibäk Xa:n kiz tuy-yan-in bil-di* [J.Kh. girl be.born-AN-POSS3.ACC find.out-TERM] ‘Ĵa:nibäk Khan found out that a girl had been born’, *Xa:n xalk-niñ köñl-i yaman bol-yan-in bil-ib* ... [khan people-GEN heart-POSS3 bad become-AN-POSS3.ACC find.out-CONV] ‘The khan had found out that the people were angry and ...’.

The subjects of the complement clauses, *kiz* ‘girl’ and *xalkniñ köñli* ‘the heart of the people’, are in the nominative. An aorist in dative functions as action nominal in a purposive small clause, e.g., *Kiz-ni öl-tür-ür-gä kişi yibär-di* [girl-ACC die-CAUS-AOR-DAT person send-TERM] ‘He sent a man to kill the girl’.

Participant nominals are used in several syntactic functions such as a subject, e.g., *bil-gän-lär ay-di-lar* [find.out-PN-PL speak-TERM-PL] ‘those who had found out about it spoke’, or as a predicate, e.g., “*Öltür-mä-gän bol-yay*” *de-di* [die-CAUS-NEG-PN become-OPT say-TERM] ‘“He has maybe not killed (her)”, he said’.

Instead of a summary

In our modest contribution to a linguistic analysis of the texts, we have availed ourselves of the philological accuracy and high competence manifested in the edition. The aim has been to demonstrate that in Turcology no distinct border should be drawn between philological and linguistic research. We appeal to scholars to continue in both branches and to collaborate. This seems especially important for young researchers today, something that we have expressed in recent lectures at conferences and meetings in Ankara, Astana and Tokyo.

Scholars in Turkic linguistics should join forces to strengthen their common endeavors. What is needed is cooperation between researchers in various fields of Turkic studies. There are plenty of tasks, and they cannot be fulfilled alone, only in networks. Turkic linguistics needs to continue its steady development into a well-orchestrated field of knowledge (Johanson 2015: 591). In other words, “типки

лингвистикасы үздіксіз білім саласына айналу үшін тұрақты дамуын жалғастыра алады” (Johanson 2018: 13).

The Szeged School of Altaic research is the finest example of broad, fruitful cooperation between scholars in philology and linguistics.

Abbreviations

ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
AN	Action nominal
AOR	Aorist
CAUS	Causative
CONV	Converb
COP.PRTCL	Copular particle
DAT	Dative
GEN	Genitive
HYP	Hypothetical
IMP	Imperative
LOC	Locative
OPT	Optative
PASS	Passive
PL	Plural
PN	Participant nominal
POSS	Possessive
POST	Postterminal
QUOT.PRTCL	Quotation particle
SG	Singular
TERM	Terminal
VOL	Voluntative

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A Misunderstood Passage of Qādir ‘Ali-beg Jālāyirī’s *Ĵāmī at-Tawārīḫ*^{*}

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The number of the narrative Turkic sources written in the territory of the Golden Horde is scarce and most of them has no critical edition (Ivanics 2017: 37). One of these sources is Qādir ‘Ali-beg b. Hošūm-beg Jālāyirī’s *Ĵāmī at-Tawārīḫ* (‘Compendium of Chronicles’). Qādir ‘Ali-beg finished his work in 1602 in the territory of Kasimov Khanate (1452–1681), a vassal state of Russia. The work is dedicated to the Russian tsar Boris Godunov (1552–1605).

The source has two more or less whole and a fragmentary manuscript in Kazan’. Two new instances are recently discovered in the British Museum (Ivanics 2017: 43). The high-resolution coloured photographs of the most complete manuscript copied in 1641 are accessible in the Research Repository of the Saint Petersburg State University (In the following RRSPSU) (Web1). Unfortunately, at least one folio (nr. 6) is missing from this digital version. Some of the folios are in the wrong order according to the plot of the text (starting at folio nr. 148), due to a mistake made probably during the volumization of the manuscript.

The text is written in Volga-Turkī literary language in Arabic script. It consists of three main parts. The first part is an introduction and dedication to Boris Godunov (folios nr. 1r-6r). The second part is a concise Turkī translation of the Persian historian Rašīd ad-Dīn’s (1247–1318) *Ĵāmī at-Tawārīḫ* (folios nr. 6r–142v). Qādir ‘Ali-beg’s work has no overt title, and is named *Ĵāmī at-Tawārīḫ* after Rašīd ad-Dīn’s work. The final part (folios nr. 142v–158r) consists of eight autographic chapters (*dastāns*), which tells about the khans and important persons of the Golden Horde and its successor states. These last chapters are based on oral tradition and the contemporary viewpoint of the author (Ivanics 2017: 47).

^{*} The idea of the present paper popped up during one of our late-hour discussions with Professor Mária Ivanics about the material of our common PhD-student, Guldana Togabaeva. Such discussions have ever been so inspiring and have meant a lot to me. It may be no exaggeration to claim that I dedicate this paper to Professor Ivanics with the same enthusiasm as Qādir ‘Ali-beg dedicated his text to Boris Godunov. I hereby would like to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Ivanics for the incredible amount of thought towards me and I wish her a productive retirement.

The text has two editions, the elder one is made by I. N. Berezin (1851) with typography in Arabic script. This edition follows the plot correctly. The other edition was published by R. Syzdykova and M. Kojgeldiev in 1991. This latter contains a cyrillic transcription and a Kazakh translation. It includes a description of the historical context and that of some phonological, morphological and lexical features of the text.

Qādir ‘Ali-beg’s *Ĵāmī‘ at-Tawārīḫ* has no translation in European languages, (including Russian). Unfortunately, even the existing modern Kazakh translation is not completely reliable. In this paper, I will demonstrate a passage of the text which is misunderstood and mistranslated by Syzdykova and Kojgeldiev due to a wrong syntactic analysis. I will propose a new analysis and will attempt to translate the passage to English.

Most Turkic languages (including Volga-Turkī and modern Kazakh) have a head-final, left-branching syntax (Johanson 1998: 49). This also means that the unmarked constituent order of Turkic indicative sentences is subject-object-verb (Johanson 1998: 57). For the purpose of simplicity, I will use only the labels S, O, V to designate syntactic units during my analysis. The label ‘S’ will stand for subjects and its complements including nominal dependent clauses (if there is any). The label ‘O’ will stand for direct or indirect objects, and any arguments and/or complements of the finite predicate (if there is any), including any other than nominal dependent clauses (typically dependent and even juxtaposed clauses ending in the converb *-p*). The label ‘V’ will stand for the finite verbal or nominal predicate of the sentence. I will not consider the inner structure of these units with one exception: the inherent direct or indirect objects of finite compound verbal predicates will be labelled as ‘o’. For example, *χūrūj qildī* ‘das Hinausgehen; Auflehnung, Empörung, Herauskommen, zum Vorschein kommen’ (Z 406c) ‘do’+PAST, will be labelled as ‘oV’ where *χūrūj* is an inherent direct object of the verb *qil-*. These syntactic units will be bracketed with ‘[]’ in the presented sentences for better transparency.

The Volga-Turkī passage under discussion is cited from the dedication to Boris Godunov (4v/2–5r/1). The broader context tells about the conquests of Godunov, who is referred to as *Bāris χān* (Syzdykova – Kojgeldiev 1991: 125). The Cyrillic transcription and punctuation is presented below exactly as it is.¹ I numbered the examined syntactic units with (1)–(16). The numbering is based on the punctuation of the transcription, as the translators intuitively analyzed and understood the passage, probably based on their native Kazakh linguistic competence.

- | | |
|---|---------|
| (1) [Фатх җа насрат билән]о [йетер болгай]v. | O V |
| (2) [Шәм билән ирак ға тәріх мыңда беи де мундағ]о [хуруж қылды]oV. | O oV |
| (3) [Садаф дын]о [данә]s [инжу дек]о [сачылды]v | O S O V |

¹ Throughout the paper, I will present every example according to the transcription system in which they are published in their respective editions. Discussing the phonological problems and their codification in the respective scripts is beyond the scope and limits of the present work.

(4) [әр бір данасы]s [Рум білән Хытайға]o [тигмес дүр]v.	S O V
(5) [Аның баһасы]s [күндін күнге]o [зийада болсун]ov,	S O oV
(6) [даулаты һәм]s [бузулмасун]v,	S V
(7) [мамлакаты 'адл келіб]o,	O
(8) [Зулм көтерілгүсі]s,	S
(9) [кечә кетіб]o [күндүз болғусы]s,	O S
(10) [булут арасындын күн көзі көрүнгүсі]s	S
(11) [біздің падишаһымыз Бәрис ханның даулаты ачылғусы]s	S
(12) [дәмбәдәм Рум, Хытайны алғусы]s	S
(13) [йеті иқлим Кәшүрны билегүсі]s,	S
(14) [әзәл сақи сыдын бір мәй ічкүсі]s	S
(15) [фәни дүниада даулат ға икбал ға йолуқғусы]s,	S
(16) [барча муиассар болғусы]s, [иниша 'алла дүр]v	S V

Parallellly, I present Syzdykova and Kojgeldiev's Kazakh translation (1991: 249) prepared in the same way as their transcription. The numbering of the syntactic units attempts to follow that I presented above.

(1–2) [Шам мен Ираққа жеңіспен]o [жетпек]v.	O V
(2) [Тарихтың мыңда бесінші жылы айтулы жорық жасап]o,	O
(3) [інжү-маржанға]o [кенелді]v,	O V
(4) [(олардың) бірде-бір данасы]s [Рум мен Қытайда]o [жоқ]v.	S O V
(5) [Оның бағасы]s [күннен-күнге]o [арта түссін]ov,	S O oV
(6) [дәулеті]s [бұзылмасын]v,	S V
(7) [мемлекеті әділ келіп]o,	O
(8) [залымдық (бас) көтерсе күші кетіп]o,	O
(9–10) [күндіз бұлт арасынан күн көзі көрінгендей]o,	O
(11) [біздің патшамыз Борис ханның дәулеті]s [ашылсын]v.	S V
(12) [Жедел Рум, қытайды алуы]s,	S
(13) [жеті ықылам кешүрні билеуі]s [жақындай]o [түссін]v,	S O V
(14) [мәңгі ыдыстан шарап ішіп]o,	O
(15) [жалған дүниеде дәулет пен бақытқа жолығып]o,	O
(16) [барша тілегі]s, [алла жар болып]o, [іске ассын]ov!	S O oV

I attempted to prepare a preliminary English translation of the Kazakh one.² Due to the basic syntactic differences between English and Turkic, I did not label the English text. However, I kept the numbering of the translated syntactic units. Although it is not marked overtly, the subject of (1)–(3) is Boris Godunov, as understood from the broad context.

² I would like to express my warmest thanks to Dr. Raushangul Mukusheva for translating the Kazakh text to Hungarian for me. My English translation is actually based on hers. Her translation was also a great help during my analysis of the Kazakh text.

- (1–2) ‘He shall reach Syria and Iraq victoriously.
 (2) In the 1005th year of history,³ he marched out to a famous campaign
 (3) and he obtained pearls and corals,
 (4) none (of them) exists in Rum and China.
 (5) Their value shall rise day by day,
 (6) His fortune shall not decay,
 (7) His state shall be just,
 (8) If evil rear (its head), it shall exhaust,
 (9–10) as the sunlight has showed up from the clouds during the day,
 (11) (thus) shall clear the fortune of Boris Khan, our padishah!
 (12) Quickly, his conquest of Rum and China,
 (13) to rule the seven directions,⁴ shall happen soon!
 (14) He shall drink wine from the eternal vessel,
 (15) finding fortune and luck in the mundane world,
 (16) all his wishes, Allah willing, shall come true!’

If we compare only the two excerpts made in the right of the transcription (in the following, ‘input’) and its Kazakh translation (in the following, ‘output’), the striking differences are clearly visible at first glance. While the input consists of seven finite sentences according to Syzdykova and Kojgeldiev’s competence, we have eight in the output. Moreover, the finite verbs do not match each other in the two excerpts. Let’s see a short comparison. The numbering in the comparison matches to that of the excerpts.

Input:	Output:
(1) O V	(1–2) O V
(2) O oV	(2–3) O O V
(3) O S O V	
(4) S O V	(4) S O V
(5) S O oV	(5) S O oV
(6) S V	(6) S V
(7–16) O S O S S S S S S S S V	(7)–(11) O O O S V
	(12)–(13) S S O V
	(14)–(16) O O S O oV

It is clear that the output is a free translation at best and does not follow the input precisely. Only sentences (4)–(6) have the same structure in both excerpts. Certain corresponding units does not have the same content, for example, unit (8) have items in the Kazakh translation which simply do not exist in the Turkī text: *бас көмегі* ‘to

³ The date is given according to the Hijra, it dates to 1597/1598 according to the Gregorian calendar. Boris Godunov became Russian tsar in 1598.

⁴ The center, the four cardinal points, above and below. ‘The ‘seven directions’ is a reference to the whole world.

appear, rear its head, show up’ and *kıyui kemı* ‘to exhaust’. I will not discuss all the differences in detail but rather focus on units (1)–(6) which are mistranslated not only because of stylistic reasons, but because of the wrong intuitive syntactic analysis of the sentences. If we look at the above comparison and the two excerpts, it can be seen that even the editors/translators were uncertain about the order of the constituents in (1)–(3). While – based on the punctuation – they consider the unit *Şām bilān ıraq za* ‘to Syria and Iraq’ as part of the second sentence, they translate *Şam men İraqqa* into the first one. This is the key to my proposal and this is the source of their mistake, although *Şam men İraqqa* is translated into the sentence where it belongs in the output, but analyzed wrongly in the input.

If we examine Syzykova and Kojgeldiev’s syntactic analysis of the input and the structure of the sentences in the output, we see that the editors/translators insist the basic S O V constituent order in almost all finite sentences, the maximum difference they allow that O may be partly or entirely moved in front of S. However, the structure of the Turkic sentence is even more flexible than that. Therefore, with certain limitations, constituents do appear in Turkic sentences in postpredicative positions, that is, after V: “The postpredicative position seems to be a natural place for some types of sentence adverbials [...]. The postpredicative position is not the place for new information, for interrogative pronouns and adverbs or for unmarked direct objects for specific reference. Subject pronouns found in this position cannot have topic function. Note that postpredicative elements are not confined to less carefully planned speech, but have also been part of written varieties throughout the history of Turkic.” (Johanson 1998: 58)

The postpredicative position may be occupied, for example, when a non-object constituent is put in the focus-position. “The position immediately in front of the predicate core is used for focused constituents, offering new or relatively important information. This is the natural position for unmarked direct objects and for interrogative pronouns asking for new information.” (Johanson 1998: 59).

It is well-known already about the Karakhanid mirror of rulers, the *Qutadγu Bilig* ‘Wisdom that brings good fortune’ from the 11th century that it is very rich in loan translations from Persian, and has a rather ‘non-Turkic’, partly unintelligible syntax due to the necessity of versification (Scharlipp 1995: 65).

If we look at the input, we see that units (8)–(16), all being nominal dependent clauses with a single finite predicate, have end rhyme. The examples below demonstrate that versed sentences are very often have constituents in postpredicative positions. I cited these examples from other narrative Turkic sources from the Golden Horde, namely, the ‘*Pagan*’ *Oγuz-nāmā* from the 15th century (Danka 2019), the Tashkent manuscript of Ötämiş Hāji’s *Čingiz-nāma* from the 16th century (Kawaguchi 2008), and the *Dāftār-i Čingiz-nāmā*, compiled in the 18th century. (Ivanics–Usmanov 2002, Ivanics 2017) For the detailed descriptions of these sources, see the referred editions, and Ivanics’s compilation of the narrative Turkic sources of the Golden Horde (2017: 40, 42 and 201–206 respectively). The examples are cited in the order given above.

In the first example, we see that both of the inherent indirect object of the verbal predicate is behind the verbal head *bol-* ‘to become’, partly because of the end rhyme and partly because of the optative/imperative mood of the sentence.

[ay sän]s [munda beglärgä]o [bolııl başlıq]vo	S O Vo
[m(ä)n m(ä)ñiläp sängä]o [at]s [bolsun qārliıy]vo	O S Vo

‘Oh, you shall become the leader of the *begs* here,
(Because) I am happy, thy name shall be *Snowy*!’
(Danka 2019: 106–107, 173)

The verbal predicate of the second example is in the optative mood again, and direct object appears in postpredicative position. The two relevant sentences have end rhyme.

<i>ol kişi aydı</i>	
[mäniñ atım]s [sañğısın]v	S V
[añlayaysın]v [soñğusun]o	V O
<i>tedi</i> ⁵	

(Kawaguchi 2008: 25, 83)

‘That person said:
“My name is Sangisun
you shall understand the final part!”
he said.’⁶

The final example consists of sentences of similar constituent order, they all have an adverbial clause expressing purpose in postpredicative position and have perfect end rhyme.

[saqalunmusän]v [suw içib buwaz bolmağa]o	V O
[manı degän quşmusän]v [kün issi-sinä buwaz bolmağa]o	V O
[qawun qarbusmusän]v [ersiz orlıq yïymağa]o	V O
[tavuq musän]v [külgä avnab yumurtqa salmağa]o	V O
[qurt anası musän]v [köbük aşab buwaz bolmağa]o	V O

(Ivanics–Usmanov 2002: 44, 217; Ivanics 2017: 220)

5 The passage also occurs in the Istanbul manuscript of the text, although slightly differently, and not in a verse. Nevertheless, the clause in question is the same: *Ol kişi aydı kim benim aytım sañ sañğusun turur, añlağay sen soñğusın tidi* (Kafalı 2009: 124).

6 English translation by me.

‘Are you a *saqalun*⁷ to get pregnant drinking water?
 Are you a bird called *manī*⁸ to get pregnant by the heat of sunlight?
 Are you a melon or watermelon to cache seed without a man?
 Are you a fowl to lay eggs rolling in ash?
 Are you a queen-bee to get pregnant eating pap?’⁹

All the above examples have a constituent other than the category labelled by ‘S’ in postpredicative position. However, Johanson’s above definition of the postpredicative position and its limitations also allows ‘S’ to appear after ‘V’, if the (intransitive) predicate core or the constituent immediately in front of it is emphasized. Consider the following corresponding modern Turkish and Kazakh sentences:

[Çok güzel idi]v, [şarkı söylemesi]s.	V S
[Өте әдемі болды]v, [оның ән айтқаны]s.	V S

‘It was very beautiful, his/her singing.’¹⁰

I present the input in Latin transcription, with a different analysis than presented above. My proposed analysis is based on the idea that in units (1)–(6), postpredicative positions are occupied by ‘S’ because another constituent is emphasized. The only exception is *šām bilān ‘iraqya*, which is labelled as ‘O’. In Syzdykova and Kojgeldiev’s analysis, these were understood in the beginning of the subsequent sentences, which was the ultimate reason of their mistranslation. In my proposal, all the sentences and nominal clauses also have end rhyme.

- | | |
|--|----------|
| (1) [fāth wā nūs-rāt bilān]o [yātār bolyay]v [šām bilān ‘iraqya]o | O V O |
| (2) [tārīḫ miṇdā beš-dā munday]o [ḫūrūj qıldī]ov [sādāfdin]o [dānā]s | O oV O S |
| (3) [injū teg]o [sačıldī]v [hār bir dānāsī]s | O V S |
| (4) [rūm bilān ḫitayya]o [tegmās dūr]v [anīj bāhāsī]s | O V S |
| (5) [küñdin küñgā]o [ziyādā bolsun]ov [dāwlāti]s | O oV S |
| (6) [hām buzulmasun]v [māmlākātī]s | V S |
| (7) [‘adl kelib]o [zūlm köterilgüsü]s | O S |
| (8) [kāčā ketib]o [küñdüz bolyusī]s | O S |
| (9) [bulut arasindin kün közi körüngüsü]s | S |
| (10) [bizniñ pādšāhimiz bāris ḫānniñ dāwlāti açilyusī]s | S |
| (11) [dāmbādām rūm ḫitayni alyusī]s | S |
| (12) [yāti iqlim kāšwārni biylägüsü]s | S |

⁷ Ivanics (2017: 220, footnote no. 492) proposes that *saqalun* is a kind of grass.

⁸ Ivanics (2017: 220, footnote no. 493) proposes that *manī* may be ‘blackbird’ or ‘a kind of starling, mynah’.

⁹ English translation by me, based on Ivanics’s Hungarian translation.

¹⁰ I would like to express my thanks to my native Turkish and Kazakh informants, Emel Dev-Zörgö and Guldana Togabaeva, respectively.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (13) [<i>āzāl saqīsīdīn bir mây içgüsi</i>] _s | S |
| (14) [<i>fāni dūnyāda dāwlāt wā iqbālyā yoluqyusi</i>] _s | S |
| (15) [<i>barča miyāssār bolyusi</i>] _s | S |
| (16) [<i>inšā ‘allāhdīr</i>] _v | V |

‘Victoriously shall they reach Syria and Iraq!
 Thus broke out the pearl from the oyster, in the 1005th year of history.
 All of its pieces¹¹ sprinkled like pearls
 Yet its value¹² hasn’t matched to Rum and China.
 His fortune shall thrive day by day!
 His realm shall not decay!
 May tyranny be lifted, justice to come
 May the Sun rise, the night to pass
 May the Sun’s face emerge out of the clouds,
 May the kingdom of our padisah, Boris Khan come
 May he conquer Rum and China soon,
 May he rule the seven directions,
 May he drink wine given by the eternal cup-bearer
 May he meet luck and happiness in the mundane world,
 May all these happen with ease,
 By Allah’s will.’

As a final conclusion, it can be claimed that the future research of the narrative Turkic sources of the Golden Horde and its history has huge tasks for the future. The preparation of critical editions of these sources is of crucial importance. Critical edition is meant here also in the sense that they have to be published by or in cooperation with scholars with the proper linguistic training. I demonstrated, how easy is to mistranslate a text without deep insight to the source language even if the target language is as closely related to it in time and space as Volga Turkī and

11 It seems that the two instances of *dānā* داننه has different meanings in the two subsequent lines. The meaning of the word is quite broad: Korn, Körneben, einzelne Beere, Vogelbeere, Lockspeise, Kugel, Kanonkugel, Flintenkugel, ein Stück, etc. (Z 422a), basically anything small and round, which together with the *oyster* in the context, likely to mean ‘pearl’. However, the same word is used in the next sentence, where the general meaning ‘piece’ is compared to pearls. The two sentences have clearly metaphorical connotations, about which however, I can only speculate. The pearl(s) probably refer to Boris Godunov and his army, praised highly in the previous passage.

12 There are two entries for *bāhā* in Zenker’s dictionary, the Persian word *bāhā* means ‘Preis, Werth’, the Arabic *bāha* means ‘Schönheit’ (Z 229b). The context with pearls supposes that the Persian word is used and its reference is ‘military power’. Therefore sentences (2)–(4) state that Godunov’s political and military power was no match to that of Europe or China in a very diplomatic way. This is supported by the fact that in unit (11)–(12) Qadīr ‘Ali-beg wishes Godunov to conquer Rum and China and rule the whole world.

modern Kazakh. I hope that the above discussion illustrated the nature of hazards to be expected when researchers rely on misunderstood and mistranslated editions of historical sources.

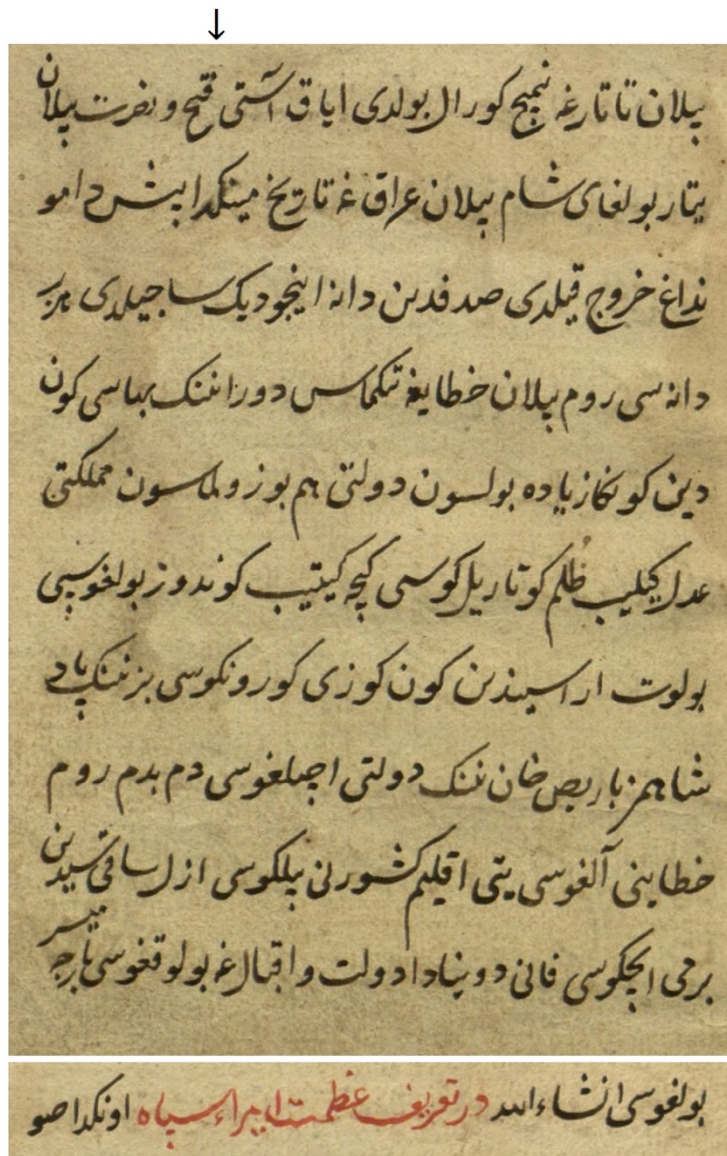
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Web1: <https://dspace.spbu.ru/handle/11701/15394>

Appendix: the picture of the passage from the manuscript in the RRSPSU. (source: Web1).



The Formation of the *sancak* of Kırka (Krka) and its First *begs*

Géza Dávid

For Mária Ivanics, my highly esteemed friend

The administrative division of the *vilayet* of Budin (Buda) significantly changed with the passing of time. In spite of smaller transformations, we can speak about considerable stability in the core territories. On the frontiers, however, new administrative units were created following subsequent conquests or as a result of strategic or economic considerations. Some of the districts turned out to be provisional; others functioned longer while they occasionally were attached to another province. One of the last established *livas*, which belonged to Buda for a very short interval, was the *sancak* of Kırka (or Lika). The formation of this entity, and its first leaders, is the topic of my article.¹

1. The creation of the *sancak* of Kırka

In the central list of *ümera* appointments kept between 1578 and 1588 an additional, last entry, following the *kapudanlık* of Bihaç (Bosnian Bihać), we find the following text: “The *liva* [consisting of regions] beyond the river² Kırka (Croatian Krka), of Kotar,³ and of Koribava⁴ in the *liva* of Pojega (Hungarian Pozsega, Croatian

1 I wish to express my gratitude to Fazileta Hafizović, Hatice Oruç, Boglárka Weisz, Pál Fodor, Douglas A. Howard, Mehmet İnbaşı, Nándor Kovács, Bálint Lakatos, Géza Pálffy, Attila Pfeiffer, Marko Šarić, and Balázs Sudár, who helped me in various forms to prepare this short study.

2 The Turkish text would allow one or more rivers. As we shall immediately see, only one is denoted here.

3 Possible decipherings include Krbaz, Kobar, Komar. The good solution is, I think, the region of Ravni Kotar, which is already mentioned as a *nahiye* seat in 1585. Cf. Fazileta Hafizović, *Kliški sandžak od osnivanja do početka Kandijskog rata (1537–1645. godine)* (Orijentalnu Institut u Sarajevo. Posebna izdanja, 46) Sarajevo 2016, 27.

Požega). Based on the letter of the *beglerbegi* of Budun [they are] given as a *sancak* to the *kapudan* of Una⁵ with 200,000 *akçe* including his *ziamet* amounting to 34,800 *akçe* but which was granted with twenty-two thousand eight hundred [akçe] with the stipulation that he should not receive another *sancak* elsewhere. 20 *zi'l-kade* 987 (8 January 1580). He got his diploma in the above mentioned form. 22 *zi'l-hicce* 987 (9 February 1580), 200,000 [akçe].” Below this text we find a remark by another hand: “[Now] it belongs to Bosna (Bosnia).”⁶

It was not an easy task to make sense of the above sentences. Considering that the Krka region in Croatia is located rather far away from Pozsega, my first attempt at interpretation was that perhaps the stream named Kerka at its Hungarian section (and similarly called Krka in Slovenian) was meant here. The Kozijak Mountain, referred to in note 3, could have fit into this idea. Were this explanation true one could speak about an aborted experiment of which we have other examples in Hungary.⁷

But this assumption was to be given up, since a district bearing these names never appears again. Further, it is unlikely that two administrative entities of practically the same name were simultaneously created in this neighbourhood and the foundation of only one of them referred to. Namely, we know it for sure that the *sancak* of Kırka with Knin as its centre was called to life somewhat more to the south-southwest of Pozsega at about this very same time. This is evident from Joachim von Sinzendorf’s report of 17 September 1580 about the establishment of the *vilayet* of Bosna, formed two weeks earlier, on 4 September 1580.⁸ Here he

4 In the lack of diacritical points several variations can be imagined: Korinak, Foribak, and the like. Some eight kilometres southwest of Pozsega a mountain called Kozijak (Cf. <https://mapcarta.com/18816824>) can be found. At the beginning I tried to identify the Ottoman version with this denomination. Later, however, in the light of what will be expounded below, I realized that this is not a correct equation. It took a long time to come to the form above and to conclude that it cannot denote to anything other than the Krbava area.

5 Nenad Močanin, in *Kapudánságok a bosnyák határvidéken a 16–18. században. Aetas* (1994/4), 53, maintains that there was no *kapudan* on the river Una, while our source contradicts his assumption.

6 İstanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, 26. This is the original text: Liva-i maveraü’n-nehr-i Kırka ve Kotar/Krbaz ve Koribava/Forinak/Kozijak der liva-i Pojega. Budun beglerbegisinin defteri mucebince Una kapudanı Pojegada yigirmi iki bin sekiz yüz ziamete tek milile 34,800 akçe üzere mutasarrıf olan Mehmede ziameti mahsub olmak üzere 200,000’le sancak tarikiyle ahar yerde sancak olmamak şartıyla buyuruldu. Fi 20 zi’l-kade sene 987. Berat eyledi vech-i meşruh üzere, fi 22 zi’l-hicce 987. 200,000. Bosnaya tabi olmuştur.

7 Such a case is that of Babócsa, Berzence, Segesd, and Szöcsény, all the four fortifications in County Somogy, which were chosen to guard a new *sancak* called to life in 1585 but which never appears later in the documents. See Géza Dávid, *Die Bege von Szigetvár im 16. Jahrhundert. Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes in memoriam Anton C. Schaendlinger* 82 (1992 [1993]), 84.

8 Cf. Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, 2. Published by: Metin Kunt, *Sancaktan eyalete. 1550–1650 arasında Osmanlı ümerası ve il idaresi*. (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi yayınları, 154) İstanbul 1978, 150.

alludes to the *sancak* of Lika, the common second name of the *liva* of Kırka, as its constituent element,⁹ which implies that he referred to this unit and not to another one.¹⁰ A further telling – in this case Turkish – proof of its freshness is that somewhat later, in the spring of 1583, it was ordered to prepare a separate register of the *sancak* in question. The firman runs as follows: “Order to the registrar (*muharrir*) of the *sancak* of Kırka. The mentioned *liva* has no distinct summary (*icmal*) and detailed (*mufassal*) *defters*; these are together with the *defters* of the *sancak* of Kilis (Croatian Klis, Hungarian Klissza). Since it had been reported that the *liva* of Kırka should have summary and detailed *defters* I decreed that besides the sixty thousand *akçe* given out so far, a register of the rest be made and distributed [namely the revenues among the *timar*-holders], and since Kırka is a separate *sancak*, it should have its own summary and detailed *defters*! I ordered that as soon as – arrives, besides the sixty thousand *akçe* given out so far, a register of the rest be made and distributed; prepare its summary and detailed *defters* and send them to my Threshold of Felicity.”¹¹

To put it more clearly: no alienated *defters* were made up for the *sancak* of Kırka, as its whole territory had belonged to Klis. Becoming independent, there emerged the necessity to draw up separate registers there. “The 60,000 *akçe* given out so far” can probably be interpreted either as the sum granted to the *beg* as a portion of his *hasses* or that this much of the sources of revenue had been carved out from the neighbouring territories for the new formation. Luckily, we know that the work had been finished by 1585, this being the date of the first detailed register of the *sancak* of Kırka.¹²

9 Wien, Haus-, Hof und Staatsarchiv, Türkei I. Karton 42. Konv. 2. 1580. VIII-IX, 124–129. In another Habsburg letter it is also labelled as a new entity on 8 March 1581: Türkei I. Karton 43. Konv. 3. 1581. III. 35–55, 59–77 (and again in July).

10 Ottoman documents used below regularly contain the name given after the river and not the one borrowed from the Lika Mountains. In the 17th century, however, we also meet parallel forms: “the *liva* of Kırka alias Lika”. Kunt, *op. cit.*, 185.

11 Hasan Yıldız, *XLIX numaralı mühimme defteri (tahlil-metin). Yüksek lisans tezi*. İstanbul 1996, 120, No. 261. – The same issue was also dealt with one month earlier, when the *beglerbegi* of Bosna was instructed to share the work between a commissioner (*emin*) and a scribe. In all likelihood the complexity of the task was underestimated for the first run, this being the reason of thinking that one single person would be sufficient to accomplish the task. Cf. Yıldız, *op. cit.*, 43, No. 98.

12 See Fazileta Hafizović, Posjedi zvaničnika i njihovih porodica u Kliškom sandžaku u XVI stoljeću. *Znakovi vremena* 13 (2010/ljeto–jesen), 229, note 1. (It is preserved in Istanbul: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Tapu defteri 622). At this point it was divided into 29 subdistricts (*nahiye*), as identified by Hafizović, *Kliški sandžak*, 27–28: Vrana, Skradin, Karin, Novi and Stari Obrovac, Gradčac, Mazin, Strmička, Udvina, Bilaj Bunić, Knin, Zvonigrad, Stara Ostrovica, Obrovac, Cvituša, Karin, Mazin, Vrana, Skradin, Kožul – the pious foundation of Hüsrev beg, Nadin, Velin, Zvonigrad, Knin, Kotar, Novi along the Lika, Cvituša along the Lika, Medak along the Lika, Perušić, Bilaj Barlet. (I have no explication for the repeated names.)

We can conclude, then, that the entry of January 1580 in the *ümera* list refers to the better known *sancak* of Kırka/Lika and not to another, quickly disappearing one.

2. Did a *sancak* of Kırka exist at an earlier date?

Occasionally we can read that there was a *sancak* in existence around the river Krka also considerably earlier.¹³ This assumption is based on a passage from İbrahim Peçevî, who wrote his chronicle some 100 years later than the events narrated here.¹⁴ The relevant part was printed in this form: “The conquest of the castles of Kadin (recte: Karin, Croatian Donji Karin¹⁵) and Obruča (Croatian Obrovac, Hungarian Obrovác).¹⁶ The mentioned castles were conquered by the good endeavours of the named [Hüsrev *beg*] and Gazi Murad *beg* in the year 944 (10 June 1537–29 May

13 Andreas Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*. (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B, Nr. 13) Wiesbaden 1976, 56; Balázs Sudár, Török fürdők a hódoltságban. *Történelmi Szemle* 44 (2003), 256; Idem, Ki volt Jakováli Haszan pasa? *Pécsi Szemle* 9 (2006/1), 33.

14 The great lacuna in time can be partly counterbalanced by the fact that the chronicler served as *mirliva* of Kırka for approximately one year from 15 February 1637, which might have enabled him to become informed about local traditions about the creation of the *sancak*. Cf. Pál Fodor, Egy pécsi származású török történetíró: Ibrahim Pecsevi. In: *Pécs a hódoltság korában. Tanulmányok*. Szerk. Ferenc Szakály–József Vonyó. (Pécsi Mozaik, 2) Pécs 2012, 151.

15 Its ruins can be seen on an elevation in the vicinity of Popovići, which belongs to Benkovac, when going in the direction of Donji Karin. See Bukovica i Ravni kotari. Vodič kroz kulturnu baštinu. Zagreb 2013 (http://kula-jankovica.unizg.hr/files/file/Bukovica/Hrvatski_PRIPREMA_web.pdf), 124–125.

16 About the occupation of Karin Evliya Çelebi gathered the following hearsay: “This was also built by the Croatian infidels. It was also conquered by Hüsrev *beg* in 944. Nowadays it belongs to the *sancak* of Kırka.... It is reported that earlier, in the time of Süleyman *han* it was a separate *sancak* where Sarhoş İbrahim pasha’s father, Memi *beg*, had been the *mirliva* who possessed [the territory] as far as the river Kırka. Later the infidels demolished this castle and merely one of its towers survived; it was a strong castle but it is abandoned at present.” (Cf. Evliyâ Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zıllî, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*. *Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 307 yazmasının transkripsiyonu–dizini*. V. Haz. Yücel Dağlı–Seyit Ali Kahraman–İbrahim Sezgin. İstanbul 2001, 244.) The *sancak* of Karin implicitly included in the text does not crop up elsewhere; the traveller must have misunderstood something. I can imagine that he wished to allude to the 1580 formation of the *sancak* of Kırka as we read it in Peçevî, erroneously adding Süleyman’s name.

1538) and were attached to the imperial domains.¹⁷ ... At present they are detached from Kilis and are appended to the *sancak* of Kırka. It was detached for the first time by Mahmud, son of Araniz (recte: Aranid)¹⁸ when the *beg* of Kilis was the late Yahyalı Solak Mehmed *beg*.¹⁹ Moreover, it is known that Veli *beg*²⁰ criticised Mahmud *beg* in this connection. Then, when it was appended to Kilis again; it was detached again [for] Arnavud Memi *beg*, the father of Sarhoş and Gazi İbrahim

17 Obrovac and, suspiciously, nearby Karin as well, were captured by Ottoman forces headed by Murad, at this time *voyvoda* and not *beg*, and not by Hüsrev. Cf. Gábor Barta, A Forgotten Theatre of War 1526–1528 (Historical Events Preceding the Ottoman–Hungarian Alliance of 1528). In: *Hungarian–Ottoman Military and Diplomatic Relations in the Age of Süleyman the Magnificent*. (Ed. by Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor). Budapest 1994, 98–99. In 1530 we find both places as *nahiye* centres in the *sancak* of Bosna. See 91, 164, *MAD* 540 ve 173 numaralı *Hersek, Bosna ve İzvornik livâları icmâl tahrîr defterleri* (926–939/1520–1533. I. Dizin. (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 81, Defter-i Hâkânî dizisi, X) Ankara 2006, 142, 158, 215 (map). In December 1536 (i.e. H. 943) *dizdars* functioned in both castles, who must have been local converts as it can be judged by their names. (Cf. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki Türkçe belgeler koleksiyonu ve bizimle ilgili diğer belgeler. *Belgeler* V–VIII (1968–1971/9–12), 84). We were ready to conclude that Peçevî made a mistake when specifying the date of the occupation. However, the annalist Bostan, who lived in Süleyman's epoch, also puts the year of the capture of the two fortifications to 1537. (See *Török történetirök*. Fordította és jegyzetekkel kísérté József Thury. II. Budapest 1896, 98). Consequently, it can be imagined that temporarily they were in Christian hands and it was necessary to march up against them once again.

18 Hazim Šabanović (*Bosanski pašaluk. Postanak i upravna podjela*. Sarajevo 1959, 73) correctly assumed, I think, that if anybody, he could be the postulated “first *beg* of Kırka”. The problem is, however, that Aranid Mahmud was “only” the *alaybegi* of Budun in 1546. (Cf. Gyula Kaldy-Nagy, *Kanuni devri Budin tahrir defteri* (1546–1562). 164, note 192, 168, note 197, 198, note 242, 211, note 255, 212, note 257, 217, note 265, 218, note 267, and 302, note 374. See also Balázs Sudár, An Aristocratic Albanian Family that Gained a Foothold and Emerged in the Hungarian Borderlands. The Aranids. In: “*These were hard times for Skanderbeg, but he had an ally, the Hungarian Hunyadi*.” *Episodes in Albanian–Hungarian Historical Contacts*. Ed. by Krisztián Csaplár. (Acta Balkano–Hungarica, 1) Budapest 2019, 26, note 17). Before this date he could not have held a *sancakbegi* post because we have no examples of such a demotion. On the other hand, the creation of a district of Kırka after 1546 is fiction-like.

19 Sudár (An Aristocratic Albanian, 27) equates him with Yahyapaşazade Mehmed, whose *beg* position at Klis needs verification. According to Antal Gévay, *A' budai pasák*. Bécs 1841, 6, No. 3. he came to office in Morea in 1534 and seven years later he was appointed *beglerbegi* of Anatolia. Others show him as a returning official to Szendrő (Serbian Smederevo, Ottoman Semendire) in 1536, who could well serve there until 1541. Cf. Olga Zirojević, *Tursko vojno uredjenje u Srbiji* (1459–1683). *L'organisation militaire turque en Serbie* (1459–1683). (Istorijski Institut, posebna izdanja. Institut d'histoire, monographies, 18) Beograd 1974, 262; Aleksandar Fotić, Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha's *evkaf* in Belgrade. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 54 (2001), 440. (I have not seen further examples for his nickname Solak ('left-handed') elsewhere.)

20 If it is really he who is meant here (see below), then our earliest piece of information about him dates from 1544, when he was coincidentally the *beg* of Kilis. Cf. Markus Köhbach, *Die Eroberung von Fülele durch die Osmanen 1554. Eine historisch-quellenkritische Studie zur osmanischen Expansion im östlichen Mitteleuropa*. Wien–Köln–Weimar 1994, 262, note 246.

pasha, so that its frontier be the river Kırka, and it was named the *sancak* of Kırka.”²¹

Unfortunately, this narration is not void of a certain obscurity. Neither the dates nor the persons can be unambiguously identified (see the previous footnotes). Archival sources do not corroborate at all the existence of an administrative unit of this name before 1580 (Peçevî’s “second detachment” must have hinted at this date).²² In spite of this it cannot theoretically be fully rejected that there was, perhaps, some truth in the chronicler’s information. Still, if it subsisted at all, that *sancak*²³ was abolished so rapidly that there remained no official trace of it.²⁴ Instead, sultan’s *hasses* “beyond the river Kırka” are mentioned several times but as parts of the *sancak* of Kilis. In the 1550 *defter* of this latter district 107,230 *akçe*

21 *Tarih-i Peçevî*. [Istanbul 1866]. I. 194. – As it is known, we have no critical edition of this work. It has been preserved in several manuscripts, which will cause difficulties when one or more scholars attempt to undertake the task of collating and publishing a reliable text. Some theses have been prepared of different sections of the chronicle at Marmara University, one of them containing the passage cited above. Its author used two manuscripts. She possibly transcribed the – in her judgement – more reliable version where both “Solak Mehmed” and even Veli *beg* figure as Vusulî while in the other codex as Yahyalu and Havlulî/Hululî Mehmed. Cf. Bihter Gürışık, *Peçevî tarihi (46^b–80^a, metin, dizin, özel adlar sözlüğü)*. *Yüksek lisans tezi*. İstanbul 2005 (<https://katalog.marmara.edu.tr/eyayin/tez/T0051983.pdf>), 111–112, exposure 546=76^v, exposure 584. The Oriental Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences possesses one copy of the work from the 17th and two from the 18th centuries. Here we read Yahyalu Vusulî Mehmed/Mehmed *beg* while Veli *beg* is missing altogether. Cf. O. 217, f. 39^v, O. 355, f. 49^r, and O. 405, f. 85^r (from this manuscript the sentence about Memi *beg* is left out). We can add that the word “criticism” (*hicv*) is substituted by “attack” (*hücum*) in three renditions. This calls for some more caution concerning the reliability of the text and in terms of the identities of the persons involved in it.

22 Šabanović (*op. cit.*, 73–74) also came to practically the same conclusion.

23 Evliya Çelebi alludes twice to the early period of the *sancak* of Kırka postulated by him: in connection with Nadin and then İvranya (Croatian Vrana, Hungarian Vrána). In the latter case he explicitly highlights that “When conquered, it was attached to the *sancak* of Kilis and later – upon the demand of Hüsrev pasha, to the *sancak* of Kırka.” Cf. Evliyâ Çelebi, *op. cit.*, V. 244. In my opinion these two data are far from being enough to decide the question.

24 The *sancak* of Kırka is not mentioned at all either in the 1543 campaign journal (Mehmet İpçioğlu, Kanunî Süleyman’ın Estergom (Esztergom) seferi 1543. Yeni bir kaynak. *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* X (1990), 137–159), or in the first two *mühimme defteris* of 1544–1545 and 1552, respectively (Halil Sahillioğlu, *Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi H. 951–952 tarihli ve E-12321 numaralı mühimme defteri*. [Osmanlı Devleti ve medeniyeti tarihi serisi, 7] İstanbul 2002; Géza Dávid–Pál Fodor, „Az ország ügye mindenek előtt való.” *A szultáni tanács Magyarországra vonatkozó rendeletei (1544–1545, 1552)*. “Affairs of State Are Supreme”. *The Orders of the Ottoman Imperial Council Pertaining to Hungary (1544–1545, 1552)*. Budapest 2005; Eidem, „Ez az ügy fölöttebb fontos.” *A szultáni tanács Magyarországra vonatkozó rendeletei (1559–1560, 1564–1565)*. “This Affair is of Paramount Importance”. *The Orders of the Ottoman Imperial Council Pertaining to Hungary (1559–1560, 1564–1565)*. Budapest 2009).

originated from such sources.²⁵ In 1559 we twice come across imperial holdings in that area,²⁶ and once at the beginning of 1566.²⁷ In 1576 we learn that a certain Ali farmed the taxes of the region beyond the river Krka and Venetian lands conquered in the proximity of Kotar from the treasury annually for 600,000 *akçe*, a pretty sum.²⁸ The expanding occupied areas beyond the Krka and the increase of revenues might have motivated the court to establish a new *sancak* here.²⁹

3. The carrier of the first *sancakbegi* of Kırka

How far can we follow the posts the first “real” *beg* of Kırka had filled before he became *kapudan*? We have some difficulties: a. his name, Mehmed, was very common; b. its diminutive form, Memi (Şah), is used alternately but unsystematically even in official documents;³⁰ c. when appointed to another office the previous is not regularly indicated; d. there are contradictions in the different sources.

Keeping these difficulties in mind, I have tried to follow up the earlier and later carrier of Mehmed, the *kapudan* of Una and then *sancakbegi* of Kırka. Since Peçevî (and in his wake others) referred to him as Memi, who, in this interpretation, can be

25 *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*. Obradili Fehim Dž. Spaho–Ahmed S. Aličić. Sarajevo 2007, 1–22 (and the facsimile before the first page: the formula “beyond the river Kırka” is used here again). The sum total can be found on p. 22.

26 Gökbiçgin, Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki, 72, 79.

27 *5 numaralı mühimme defteri (973 / 1565–1566) <Özet ve İndeks>*. (T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü. Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 21. Divân-ı Hümâyûn sicilleri dizisi, II) Ankara 1994, 136, No. 776.

28 Kornelija Jurin Starčević, Krajiške elite i izvori priroda: primjer Jadranskog zaleđa u 16. i 17. stoljeću. *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 55 (2006), 256.

29 Short characterisations of it: Šabanović, *op. cit.*, 73–76, 226–227; Nenad Močanin, *Turska Hrvatska. Hrvati pod vlašću Osmanskoga Carstva do 1791. Preispitivanja*. Zagreb 1999, 40. – For a map without legends showing the early 17th century extension of the district see Marko Šarić, Društveni odnosi i previranja u sandžaku Lika-Krka u 16. i početkom 17. stoljeća. *Diplomska radionica* 1 (1999), 77. Also published by Drago Roksandić, *Triplex Confinium, ili o granicama i regijama hrvatske povijesti, 1500–1800*. Zagreb 2003, X.

30 As an example: one of the officials in our region is named Mehmed as the *beg* of Pécs (cf. Géza Dávid, Mohács–Pécs 16. századi bégjei. In: *Pécs a hódoltság korában*. Szerk. Ferenc Szakály–József Vonyó. (Pécsi mozaik, 2). Pécs 2012, 86, 113), but as Memi Şah in his capacity of registrar: *Arşiv belgelerine göre Osmanlı’dan günümüze Türk–Macar ilişkileri. Török–magyar kapcsolatok az Oszmán Birodalomtól napjainkig a levéltári dokumentumok tükrében*. İstanbul 2016, 146–147. Cited by: Balázs Sudár–János J. Varga–Szabolcs Varga, *Pécs története*. III. *A hódoltság korában (1543–1686)*. Főszerk. József Vonyó (in print); Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimme defteri 15, 190, No. 1594. (23 November 1571).

an important member (or the founding father) of the Memibegović family,³¹ I was looking for persons who, besides Mehmed, emerge also as Memi (Şah).

3a. The *nazır* of Gabela, Bosna, and Hersek (Herzegovina), later *defterdar* of Bosna

Two entries close to each other in the same *defter*, dated 19 August 1565, mention mid-level officials who could possibly later have become *kapudan* of the river Una and *beg* of Kırka. One of them is an order addressed to Mehmed, supervisor (*nazır*) of Bosna and Hersek, in which he is demanded to obtain lead (*kurşun*) in an unspecified quantity from mines in the vicinity.³² At the end of an undated (but written before 1569) letter signed by him he indicated the same functions.³³

In a document from April 1561 the financial supervisor (*nazırü'l-emval*) charged with selling Venetian/Ragusan salt arriving at the harbour of Gabela was called Memi Şah *beg*.³⁴ I think these data refer to the same person.³⁵ This equation is strengthened by the content of an investigation against Memi Şah *nazır* at the end of 1577 which wished to clarify whether he performed his duty appropriately in Gabela during the previous campaign. This legal procedure was repeated in 1583, when he was already the *defterdar* of Bosna.³⁶ From this it follows that he could by no means have become district governor in Kırka in 1580. This fiscal expert, who never held a *mirliva* post but the *beg* title was affixed to his name,³⁷ died in 1585.³⁸

31 About this clan see Nedim Zahirović, A Memibégovicsok Magyarországon, Szlavóniában és Horvátországban a 17. század első felében. *Korall* 13 (2012), 121–132. Balázs Sudár also wrote about the family and related issues in some of his studies. Lately: *Pécs 1663-ban. Evlia cselebi és az első részletes városleírás*. Pécs 2012, 93–99.

32 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Maliyeden müdevver defter 2775, 133.

33 Gökbilgin, Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki, 127–128.

34 Gökbilgin, Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki, 37.

35 Cf. Behija Zlatar, Vakuf fočanskog nazira i zaima Mehmed-bega. In: *Vakufi u Bosni i Hercegovini*. Urednik Nedim Begović. Sarajevo 2015, 209–217. Her reasoning is not always easy to follow.

36 See N. H. Biegman, *The Turco–Ragusan Relationship According to the Firmāns of Murād III (1575–1595) Extant in the State Archives of Dubrovnik*. The Hague–Paris 1967, 156–157. – Among others Zlatar (Vakuf fočanskog nazira, 213) postulates that he was active also as the *defterdar* of Timişvar (Hungarian Temesvár, Romanian Timișoara), which cannot be documented, and it is much more likely that he received the nickname “*defterdar* pasha” as a result of his being in this very office in Bosnia as shown by Biegman. – It can be added here that Ahmed, the former *defterdar* of Buda, was nominated to Temesvár on 16 February 1584 and a bit later on 16 May Behmenzade Mustafa the previous *timar defterdari* of Rumelia followed him (Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, 30). Sometime in 1583 a certain Ali cared about financial matters there (Antal Velics–Ernö Kammerer, *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek*. II. 1540–1639. Budapest 1890, 639, 732).

37 On the inscription of his *camî* we find: “the late *defterdar* Memi Şah *beg*”. Cf. Mehmed Mujezinović, Turski natpisi XVI vijeka iz nekoliko mjesta Bosne i Hercegovine. *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 3–4 (1952–1953), 477.

38 Zlatar, *op. cit.*, 214. (Based on the *kitabe* in the previous note.)

3b. The *kapudan* of the river Drava (Hungarian Dráva, Croatian, Ottoman Drava)

The second document of 19 August 1565 instructs Muhi'd-din, the kadi of Eszék (Croatian Osijek, Ottoman Ösek) in connection with a petition brought to the court (*kapuma geliüb*) by Mehmed, *kapudan* of the river Drava, who was at the same time the supervisor (*nazır olan nehr-i Drava kapudani, müfahharü 'z-zuamai* [sic!] *vel'l-emacid Mehmed*) of the *sancaks* of Bosna, Kilis, Začasna (the territory beyond the river Čazma), Pojega, and the "island of Sirem" (Hungarian Szerémség, Latin Sirmium) and by three *emins*, Mustafa, İnehan, and Selim. They were assigned from various points of time to collect *mevkufat*, *mabeyn*, and *beytü'l-mal* revenues in the mentioned districts.³⁹ Nenad Močanin, who cited this passage, added that "here Gazi (Arnavut ?) Mehmet" is spoken about. He failed, however, to show evidence for this statement; the original contains merely the very common name, not even the title Gazi figures there.⁴⁰ The author put in parentheses the byname meaning 'Albanian' probably on the basis of Peçevî's chronicle. Though I have no exact proof in this respect, it can be imagined that he exchanged one *kapudan* post with another, and then he received his first *beg* appointment.

4. Mehmed *beg*'s later places of office

According to the central *ümera* list, Mehmed was the *beg* of Kırka until 13 October 1584, when he was transferred to Esztergom (Ottoman Esterгон)⁴¹ and he was followed by Piri in Knin.⁴² But the reality was more complicated than that. Namely, as a consequence of Venetian complaints his office here had terminated earlier, and as early as October–November 1582 he was already replaced by İdris.⁴³ Mehmed, perhaps after a short interval of dismissal (*mazul*), was sent to an almost unknown and temporary administrative unit named after the settlements of Krupa (modern

39 Maliyeden müdevver defter 2775, 135–136. (See Močanin, *Kapudánságok*, 53, note 13. (With some misunderstandings and mistakes.) – His data were repeated by Sudár, *Pécs 1663-ban*, 99; Zahirović, *A Memibégovicsok*, 124.

40 Močanin, *Kapudánságok*, 52–53. – It cannot be proved that later he became the *sancagbegi* of Pojega as Močanin proposes.

41 Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, 20.

42 Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, 35. The entries for Kırka in this defter were published by Tayyib M. Gökbilgin, Prof. Tayyib Okiç ve Bosna-Hersek tarihi, Bosna Eyaleti. In: *Tayyib Okiç armağanı*. Ankara 1978, XLII.

43 Venezia, Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Miscellanea documenti turchi, No. 911. (<http://www.archiviodistatovenezia.it/divenire/imagefullscreen.htm?fs=1&imgIndex=1&idUa=38464&first=0&last=1>). Pedani's catalogue (*I "Documenti Turchi" dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Inventario della miscellanea*. A cura di Maria Pia Pedani Fabris. I. (Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato. Strumenti, 122) Roma 1994, 229–230, No. 911) was cited by Nedim Zahirović, Tragom jedne karijere: Halil-beg (Halil-paša) Memibegović od Like preko Jegra do Banje Luke. *Historijski zbornik* 70 (2017), 354, note 5.

Bosanska Krupa), Bužim, Zrin, Jezerski,⁴⁴ and Ostrožac (as identified by Nedim Zahirović). He could not have been very content with his yearly sources of revenue, either, since of the 300,000 *akçe* which was granted to him in principle (and which, otherwise, could have been considered a significant increase) he had to be satisfied with 200,000, of which 150,000 came from settlements “outside the *defter*” (*haric ez-defter*) – the explanation in the entry says: “from *reaya* settling here in the future” –, while the rest from the mine of Gvozdansko (Hungarian Gvozdanszkó).⁴⁵ It remains a question how long he stayed in this position and whether he returned to his previous post and this was really the place from where he went to Esztergom.⁴⁶

In the register kept in Istanbul, which fails to show the change of 1582 hinted at just now, the above mentioned Piri *beg*’s successor was Ali *ağa*, previously *defter kethüdası* of Bosna at the head of the *sancak* of Kırka from 25 November 1587. When his time was up, once again the current *beg* of Esztergom was placed here on 25 May 1587. His name, however, was left out.⁴⁷ Everything seems to be in order, but under Esztergom we read that on the same day Memi (and not Ali) *beg* of Kırka was put there!⁴⁸ Moreover even the Habsburg side obtained similar information; a postscript dated on 27 May 1587 reported that Osman, the *beg* of Estergon, was substituted by Memi, from “Gerga” (Krká),⁴⁹ which is the same story as what happened according to the central list in 1584. This is a rather surprising turn, the background and reason for which are not clear. It is most likely that the implementation of the given idea was delayed for three years. If this was the real sequence of events we do not know whether Mehmed *beg* was uninterruptedly in Krupa etc. in the meantime, or whether he spent his days in temporary dismissal (*mazul*), or whether it was truly he who was transferred to Esztergom, or one of his namesakes.

Another sign of this shift is that Habsburg sources in June–July 1588 narrate that Memi Şah, the former *beg* of Lika (Kırka) made serious efforts to become the *beglerbegi* of Bosna.⁵⁰ His efforts failed and he was compelled to be satisfied with

44 This identification is a bit shaky, but I cannot come up with a better proposition.

45 Zahirović, *Tragom jedne karijere*, 354 and note 6. – His predecessor here was, if I understand it well, İdris. Cf. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Tımar ruznamçe defteri 82, ff. 622^v–623^r.

46 News in April 1584 spread that this very Mehmed *beg* (*Meny weeg*) was the candidate to get the *sancak* of Černik (Croatian Cernik, Hungarian Csernik; Zernikh in the original)/Pakrač (Croatian Pakrac, Hungarian Pakrác)/Začasna. Cf. *Spomenici hrvatske krajine*. Sakupio i uredio Radoslav Lopašić. I. (Monumenta spectantia historiam slavorum meridionalium, 15) Zagreb 1884, 133). Cited by Nenad Močanin, *Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske vladavine*. Slavonski Brod 2011, 131, note 243. and from his work by Zahirović, *A Memibégovicsok*, 124, note 22.

47 Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, 35.

48 Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, 20. – Mentioned by Pál Fodor, A váci „harmincad” és egy hódoltsági főember a 16. századból: Oszmán aga, cselebi és bég. *Történelmi Szemle* (2010), 336.

49 Türkei I. Karton 61. Konv. 1. 1587. V.

50 Türkei I. Karton 67. Konv. 1. 1588. VII; Türkei I. Karton 67. Konv. 2. 1588. VIII.

Esztergom around September of the same year.⁵¹ This is a new, unexpected, twist, since we are at a point another year later. But around this time he definitely served in Esztergom, as he signed some of his letters in this capacity between March and October 1589.⁵²

A further additional and significant detail is provided by the contemporary historian Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali (1541–1600), who wrote his main work between 1591 and 1599, namely during a very near period of time to the years we are just dealing with.⁵³ He states that “the *beg* of Estergon, Arnavud Memi *beg*”, together with the *beg* of Hatvan and the *alaybegi* of Budun, participated in the mutiny directed against Ferhad, the *mirmiran* of Budun, in 1590, in which the pasha lost his life.⁵⁴ This remark is of special importance for us since the same forename of the *mirliva* figures in it as the one Peçevî gave to him. This implies that the later chronicler did not make a mistake when he spoke this way about the *beg* of Kırka.

Seemingly as a consequence of his unfriendly words to the Habsburg envoy, but probably partly because of his participation in the rebellion, he had been deprived of his post in Esztergom by the beginning of December 1590 and disappears from our eyes.⁵⁵ (According to Habsburg news Pál Márkházi, a noble convert who entered the Ottoman elite as İbrahim *beg*, was chosen as his successor.⁵⁶) Allegedly the Memi who died as the *beg* of İzvornik (Bosnian Zvornik) in the battle of Sziszek (Croatian Sisak) in 1593 is identical with him.⁵⁷ This supposition seemed questionable because we have no definitive evidence which shows that the earlier *beg* of Kırka, then that

51 Türkei I. Karton 67. Konv. 3. 1588. IX.

52 Jedlicska Pál, XVI-ik századi török–magyar levelek Pálffy Miklóshoz. (A gr. Pálffy-család levéltárából) *Magyar Történelmi Tár* 3. sorozat. 4 (1881), 692, No. 4, 694, No. 6, 697, No. 13, 698, No. 15. Cited by: Sudár, *Pécs története*. Both Sudár and Géza Pálffy (A Magyar Királyság a 16. századi Habsburg Monarchiában. *Századok* 141 (2007), 1112) show him “Szokolovics” which does not appear in the source. This forename probably goes back to Gergely Pethő’s history. Cf. *Rövid magyar kronika. Sok rend-béli fő historiás könyvekből nagy szorgalmatossággal egybe szedett és irattatott* Petthő Gergelytől. Kassa 1753 (reprint Debrecen, 1993), 131. Being a contemporary, the Hungarian annalist can probably be given credit.

53 Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600)*. Princeton, 1986, 317–318.

54 Faris Çerçi, *Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli ve Kühü’l-ahbâr’ında II. Selim, III. Murat ve III. Mehmet devirleri*. III. (Erciyes Üniversitesi yayınları, 121) Kayseri 2000, 556.

55 Gustav Bayerle, *Ottoman Diplomacy in Hungary. Letters from the Pashas of Buda, 1590–1593*. (Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, 101A) Bloomington, [1972], 76, No. 34. = Türkei I. Karton 74. Konv. 1. 1590. X–XII. und s.d.

56 Türkei I. Karton 73. Konv. 1. 1590. V–VI. About his life see Sándor Papp, From a Transylvanian Principality to an Ottoman Sanjak. The Life of Pál Márkházi, a Hungarian Renegade. In: *Chronica. Annual of the Institute of History, University of Szeged*. IV. Szeged 2004, 57–67.

57 Sudár, *Pécs története*. He quotes İyânî’s chronicle: Câfer İyânî, *Tevârih-i cedîd-i Vilâyet-i Üngürüs (Osmanlı–Macar mücadelesi tarihi, 1585–1595)*. Haz. Mehmet Kirişçioğlu. İstanbul 2001, 25. (We meet the same assertion in Southern-Slav literature.)

of Estergon, was nominated to Zvornik. Though I cannot show a clear proof, either, the text of an order dated 29 August 1598 and copied into the 1604 *defter* of Bosna indirectly confirms the feasible validity of the above statement. Here we read: “Halil, the *sancakbegi* of Kırka, may his glory last, sent a petition [reporting that] »Since at the place called Kaletina,⁵⁸ there is a crossing point for travellers where they pass and traverse from the *vilayet* of Bosna and the *sancaks* of Kilis, Hersek, and Kırka to Budin, Tımsıvar, and other well protected dominions, Memi beg, who fell as a martyr while *sancakbegi* of İzvornik, in the war of Hasan pasha, had earlier built a han«.”⁵⁹ Namely, the earlier position(s) of Memi, the *beg* of İzvornik, is not specified here, but we learn that the district governor of Krka was Halil in 1598. And this is an essential piece of information, because we know that he could call himself Memi *beg*’s son.⁶⁰ The fact that not someone else, but he, took a pen in connection with the pious foundation of a *mirliva* of the same name who worked in Zvornik around 1593 suggests that this latter person may have had something to do with the *sancak* of Kırka. However, we do not really need this reasoning, since at practically the same place a small *çiftlik* in the possession (*tasarruf*) of “Mehmed beg, *mirliva* of Kırka” in the *nahiye* of Lefçe (Bosnian Livač, Lijevče⁶¹) is mentioned and, just after it, a *mahalle* which was formed around the *cami* of “the late Mehmed beg, *mirliva* of Kırka.”⁶² It is more than likely that these “two” Mehmeds are one and the same person. It remains, however, a question if the Memi *beg*, “owner” of the *kervansaray*, is identical with him or not. One of the interpretations regards them as two different individuals, ascribing the *cami* to Gazi Arnavud and the *han* to his son. To strengthen his argument this author modified the above text by adding that the petition was sent by Memi’s son Mehmed *beg* to the Porte⁶³ which – as we have to emphasise – cannot be read either in the original or in Kupusović’s rendition.

58 Today unknown. It must have been situated somewhere near Bosanska Gradiška, and since it was a crossing place and where fairs were held, it might lie near the river Száva (Croatian, Ottoman Sava). As kindly imparted by Boglárka Weisz: “Ferry fee was collected at Alsógradiska (Ógradiska, Croatian Stara Gradiška) already in the Árpadian age; the road led from Orbász (Serbian Vrbas), to Schl[a?]platu (unidentifiable) land.” See *Hazai okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus patrius hungaricus*. Szerk. Imre Nagy. VIII. Budapest 1891, 361, No. 299.

59 Ankara, Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Kuyud-ı Kadime Arşivi TTd. 43 (old number 479), f. 229^v. The Ottoman text runs as follows: *Kırka sancağı begi Halil – dame izzuhu – arz gönderüb Kaletina nam mahalde vilayet-i Bosna ve Kilis ve Hersek ve Kırka sancaklarından Budun ve Tımsıvar ve sair memalik-i mahruseye mürur ve ubur eden ebna-i sebilün memerri olmagıla bundan akdem İzvornik sancağı begi olub Hasan paşa muharebesinde şehid olan Memi begün mevzie-i merkumede bina eyledügi hanun...* For its translation see *Opširni popis Bosanskog sandžaka*. Obradila Amina Kupusović. Sarajevo 2000, III. 518–519. (She made Hasan the *beg* of İzvornik.) – The translation was cited by Zahirović, A Memibégovicsok, 124.

60 Sudár, *Pécs 1663-ban*, 95; Zahirović, A Memibégovicsok, 127.

61 A region around Banja Luka.

62 *Opširni popis Bosanskog sandžaka*, III. 518.

63 Ismet Bušatlić, Vakufi na području medžlisa islamske zajednice Bosanska Gradiška. In: *Vakufi u Bosni i Hercegovini*. Urednik Mustafa Prljača. Sarajevo 2018, 179. (He hypothesises that the younger Mehmed died in 1576, earlier than his father. Ibid., note 18.)

Zahirović, on the other hand, opines that these data refer to one single office-holder.⁶⁴ This question should be left open – both variations are imaginable.

In contrast to Zahirović,⁶⁵ however, I do not think that the first *beg* of Kırka would have been identical with the Memi *beg* of the 1530s.⁶⁶ This latter, who must have been at least 20 years old at that time (otherwise he probably could not have played a leading role in conflicts), consequently would have been over 80 in 1593.⁶⁷ It is unlikely that at such an old age he would have participated in military undertakings. Had he reached this time of life at all he would have lived as a pensioner. Further it is not realistic, either, that he would have been appointed to establish a new *sancak* when 70 in 1580.⁶⁸

5. The founder of the Memi *beg* complex in Pécs

Though it is not directly connected to our topic we can make a short detour and try to clarify who established the Memi *beg* complex in Pécs, modest remnants of which have survived. Unfortunately, the relevant documents have disappeared, so we have to guess, choosing the most likely one from several potential persons. Can we find motivational reasons in the case of the first *beg* of Kırka? Recalling what has been said about him above our answer tends to be negative, since we have not met him

⁶⁴ Zahirović, A Memibégovicsok, 123–125.

⁶⁵ Zahirović, A Memibégovicsok, 124.

⁶⁶ Chronicles report that it was he who occupied Diakovár (Croatian Đakovo, Ottoman Yakova), and scholarly literature suggests that “later here was formed one of the centres of a small dynasty named Memibegović after Memi” (Sudár, *Pécs 1663-ban*, 95). It remains a question when this happened, and how we know. Fazileta Hafizović (Novi podaci o vakufu/legatu Benlu-age u Đakovu. *Scrinia slavonica* 14 (2014), 42) tried to connect a certain Mehmed *çeribaşı* who was the owner of a mosque in the town in 1561 to the family, but this equation is not convincing. As for the 1579 *defter* of Pojega it does not contain any reference to the clan at all. Cf. *Popis sandžaka Požega 1579. godine. Defter-i mufassal-i liva-i Pojega 987*. Prevela Fazileta Hafizović. Osijek 2001, 147–154 and passim. This allows us to cautiously conclude that the “dynasty” and its fame emerged only in the 17th century.

⁶⁷ It may cause some ambiguity but hopefully does not discredit my argumentation that Memi, the *beg* of İzvornik who died at Sziszek, is called “old” twice, once in Croatian (“stari Memi beg Svornički”) at another time in German (“des ... alten Memj beegs zu Suorinkh”). See *Spomenici hrvatske krajine*. I. 179, 182. – The significantly later chronicler Mustafa Naima (1655–1716) speaks about him as Gazi Koca Memi *beg* (in the light of the two above non Turkish passages the word *koca* cannot mean ‘great’ here; cf. Naîmâ Mustafa efendi, *Târih-i Na’îmâ. (Ravzatü’l-hüseyn fî hulâsati ahbari’l-hafikayn)* Haz. Mehmet İpşirli. (Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları, III/33.] I. Ankara 2007, 61, 62.) His source for this detail could not be discerned. The edition of this work in Arabic script is quoted by: Alexis Olesnicki, Tko nosi odgovornost za poraz turske vojske kod Siska 20 ramazana 1001 godine (22. lipnja 1593)? Kritički pregled turskih izvora o Sisačkom boju u njihovoj uzajamnoj konsektivnoj vezi. *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 22–23 (1942/1), 169–170.

⁶⁸ Similar concerns were sounded by Sudár, *Pécs 1663-ban*, 99. To resolve the contradiction, he suggested that “perhaps two Memis followed each other in the lineage”.

serving in this town (as a contrast, his building a *kervansaray* and a *cami* next to it near Gradiška can be connected to his activity along the nearby rivers). Then, we have two officials in the 16th century who ruled Pécs and were called Mehmed: the first between 1559 and 1561, the other from 1567 to 1571; *i.e.* almost four and a half years, long enough to warm up there. The first *mirliva* does not seem to be a potential founder of the pious works; about the second we can think this with more rights since – as we have seen – he was occasionally shown as Memi Şah in the sources.⁶⁹ What we further know about him is that he arrived from the *sancak* of Nógrád to Transdanubia.⁷⁰ His earlier post(s) and family background are unfortunately in shadow. It cannot be fully excluded that he had been the *kapudan* of the river Drava, from where he was elevated to the rank of the *sancakbegi* of Nógrád, but the change should have happened between August 1565 (active as *kapudan*) and November 1567 (district governor of Pécs). Quite regrettably, even if these fictitious elements were true it does not help us to a great extent, since Mehmed/Memi Şah disappears like camphor from Pécs in 1571.⁷¹

6. Summary: possible career paths

As I understand it, at present we cannot come to reassuring final results as far as the true nature of the relationship between the *beg* of Kırka and the Memibegoviç family is concerned, nor in connection with the founder of the *vakıf* in Pécs. Because of the missing details we have the following imaginable variations:

a. Mehmed, the *kapudan* of the river Drava (1565) becomes the *kapudan* of the river Una (before 1580), then *sancakbegi* of Kırka (1580), Krupa etc. (1582), Kırka again (around 1584), and Estergon (1584 or 1587); dies as the *beg* of İzvornik (1593).

b. Mehmed, the *kapudan* of the river Drava (1565), is appointed to Nógrád, and to Pécs (1567). He disappears in 1571. It can be propounded that he emerges as the *mirliva* of Estergon (1584 or 1587) after having been district governor in Kırka for a short time. In this case it can be he who lost his life at Sziszek. Were this the case, Peçevî turns out wrong in saying that the *sancak* of Kırka was created for him.

c. Mehmed, the *beg* of Kırka, is transferred to Krupa etc. and then we lose sight of him. He is replaced by Memi, coming from an unknown destination. He goes to Esztergom, etc.

⁶⁹ This view is represented by Balázs Sudár: *Pécs története*.

⁷⁰ Maliyeden müdevver defter 563, 49.

⁷¹ To our great sorrow several pages for Rumelia, where, unless he died, he likely continued his activity, are missing from our main source for the period, Maliyeden müdevver defter 563. Moreover Mühimme defteri 15 from the relevant months of H. 979 does not contain high office holders' nominations (in contrast to earlier *ruus defteris*) any more.

d. It can theoretically be imagined that more than one Mehmed followed each other in the *sancak* of Kırka: the first stationed there from 1580 until 1582, the second around 1584, and the third before 1587. We have seen that the two latter are not entered into the list kept in the centre. It does not sound reasonable that two separate individuals would have escaped the attention of the scribes, maximum one. But if we count with one single Mehmed/Memi then the district governor put to Krupa had to return (once, twice?) for a short interval to Knin, or he remained out of office (*mazul*) for a period while he earned his fame as the *beg* of Kırka in public consciousness, which is reflected by using this denomination when speaking about him in both Turkish and Habsburg sources. A sign of this “popularity” is that it is he who is still mentioned (Memi, the *beg* of Kırka) and not his son in connection with a tower built by the latter which the Venetians wished to have demolished in 1598,⁷² and that he figures (only by name) in a popular poem which enumerates the Ottoman leaders drowned in the river at Sziszek.⁷³

e. No undisputable archival evidence could be detected about the Memi Şah *beg* of the 1530's, which is thought-provoking even if we have to admit that we possess a very few reliable documents from those years.

I do hope that the collected data and my remarks have reflected in a proper manner the soundly known and missing details that can help us to draw a more exact picture about the first years of the *sancak* of Kırka and to identify their district governors on a firmer basis.

⁷² *Inventory of the Lettere e scritture turchesche in the Venetian State Archives*. Edited by Maria Pia Pedani. Based on the Materials Compiled by Alessio Bombaci †. Leiden–Boston 2010, 183, No. 771.

⁷³ Olesnicki, *op. cit.*, 155.

Pofu Qatun and the Last Decade of the Türk Empire

Mihály Dobrovits

The Imperial Annals (*benji*) of the Jiu Tangshu preserved the information that in 742 a lot of illustrious members of the Ashina clan fled to China. This information, with a detailed list of the refugees is also to be found in the Chapter on the Türks (194a) of the Jiu Tangshu. Amongst them one can mention the *Abusi* (阿布思) *eltäbär*, the Western *yabyu*,¹ the uncle of *Mechuo* (*Qapyan*) *qayan*, *Bodeji tegin*, the wife and the son of the Western *šad*, Princess *Daluo*, the daughter of *Bilgä qayan*, *Yusaifu*, the concubine of *Yiran qayan*, Princess *Yuzhu*, the daughter of *Dengli qayan*, and also *Pofu*, the widow of *Bilgä qayan*.² The Xin Tangshu dates the flight of *Pofu* to 745.³

As to the causes of the collapse of the dynasty, one can mention the role of *Pofu guduolu*, the widow of *Bilgä qayan*. Although the sons of *Bilgä qayan* can hardly be depicted as infants, for one of them had at least one daughter, the influence of their mother on them was definitely unquestionable. She also had an illegitimate relationship with somebody called *Yinsi tarqan*, so she lost all her respect in front of the Türks. Meanwhile the control of the armies slipped over to the uncles of *Dengli qayan* who wore the titles of the Left and Right *šad*.⁴

After the death of *Bilgä Qayan* in 734, his first successor was his older son, *Yiran* (伊然, EMC ?*ji-nian* , LMC ?*ji-rian* < **Īnan* ?), who was granted with the honorary title *Dengli* (登利 i.e. Tängri) *qayan* by the Chinese court sometime before 740, the most probable date is being 735.⁵ Later, after his death, this title was conferred by the Chinese to his younger brother, who originally held the title *Bijia guduolu* (苾伽骨咄祿, *Bilgä qutluγ*) *qayan*. The two brothers ruled altogether eight years, from 734 to 741.⁶ From our confused Chinese sources we cannot tell the ruling time of the first son from that of the second.⁷ We can also see that the title *Bilgä qayan* which was originally worn by the elder brother of *Kül tegin* became incorporated into the titlature of his successors. The Inscription of *Bilgä qayan*

1 *Jiu Tangshu* 215b: Zhonghua shuju, 6054.

2 LMT = Liu Mau-tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe) I-II* (Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen 10; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958, 180, 261.

3 LMT 231.

4 LMT 179, 229.

5 Paul Pelliot, "Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie Centrale", *T'oung Pao* 26 (1929), 234, 236–238.

6 *Jiu Tangshu* 215b: Zhonghua shuju, 6054.

7 Mihály Dobrovits, „A türk hatalom utolsó évtizede“, *Antik Tanulmányok* 47 (2003), 313.

begins as follows (II. E 1): *täŋri tæg täŋri yaratmış türk bilgä qayan sabım qaŋım türk bilgä [qayan]* (II the Heaven-like and Heaven-created Turkish *Bilgä Kagan*, (here are) my words: When my father Turkish *Bilgä Kagan*)⁸ and on the line II. S 13, narrating the enthronement of *Bilgä qayan* we read: *täŋri tæg täŋri yaratmış türk bilgä qayan sabım qaŋım türk bilgä qayan olurtuqınta* ('I the Heaven-like Turkish Bilge (Kagan), here are my words: When my father, Turkish Bilge Kagan succeeded to the throne [...])'⁹

The expression *täŋri* also became an integrated part of the royal titulature. On the Ongin inscription, that we dated with 740, the Türk rulers were first time referred to as *täŋrikän*.¹⁰ This movement can be understood as a sign of sacralization of the rulers.

With all these changes, the old system of the family rule and the lateral succession to the supreme rule were gone.¹¹ The lateral succession system was shown in the Orkhon Inscriptions as the source of all the troubles that caused the collapse of the First Empire.¹² With the lateral system gone, new troubles arose. Due to the linear succession (*primogeniture*), young people inevitably might succeed to the throne. Formal rulers easily could become puppets of other people who really ruled the Empire. According to our Chinese sources this was the case with the Türks. It was not the foreign forces that caused the collapse of the Empire, they merely took advantage from the forerunning calamity that ruined the ruling clan.

To regain control over the Empire, the young ruler and his mother made a desperate step. They killed the Right *šad* and put the western wing of the armies of the Empire under their direct control. The Left *šad* then attacked the ruler and killed him.¹³ The Xin Tangshu also tells us that the Left *šad*, called *Panjue tegin* then put

8 Talât Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic* (Indiana University, Uralic And Altaic Series: Bloomington, 1968, 243, 275.

9 Tekin 1968, 246, 280.

10 Mihály Dobrovits, "Ongin yazıtını tahlile bir deneme", *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı, Belleten*, 2000, 147–150.

11 On the lateral system amongst the Türks: Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier. Nomadic Empires and China 221 BC to 1757* (Cambridge, Mass. - London: Blackwell, 1996), 133.

12 I. E 4-7 (II. E 4-7): *anta kisrā inisi qayan bolmis ärinč öyliti qayan bolmis ärinč anta kisrā inisi äčisin tæg qilinmaduq ärinč öyli qaŋın tæg qilinmaduq ärinč biligsiz qayan olurmis ärinč yablaq qayan olurmis buyruqi yemä biligsiz ärinč yablaq ärmis ärinč bağlari bodunı tüzsiz üçün tabyač bodun tabligin kürlüg üçün armaqčisin üçün inili äčili kiŋsürtükin üçün bağli bodunlıy yonşurtuqın üçün türk bodun illädük ilin içyinu idmis qayanladuq qayanin yitürü idmis.* 'Then the younger brothers succeeded to the throne and the sons succeeded to the throne. But, apparently the younger brothers did not resemble their elder brothers, and the sons did not resemble their fathers. (Consequently) unwise kagans succeeded to the throne, bad kagans succeeded to the throne. Their buyruqs, too, were unwise and bad. Since the lords and peoples were not in accord, and the Chinese people were wily and deceitful, since they were tricky and created a rift between younger and elder brothers, and caused the lords and peoples to slander one another, the Turkish people caused their state which they had established to go to ruin, and their kagan, whom they had crowned to collapse.' Tekin 1968, 232–233, 263.

13 LMT 180, 230.

on the throne the third son of *Bilgä qayan* and killing him he put on the throne the fourth one. Having him also deposed and killed, he personally sat on the throne as *Guduo yehu* (**Qutluγ yabγu*) *qayan*.¹⁴ Around 742, an alliance of the Uyghurs, Qarluq and Basmil revolted and killed him. While the Basmil ruler proclaimed himself *Xiexieyishi qayan*, the son of *Guduo yehu qayan* proclaimed himself as *Wusumishi* (烏蘇米施) *qayan*.¹⁵ The Uyghur inscriptions call him *Ozmiš tegin*.¹⁶ The coalition of the Basmil, Uyghur, and Qarluq defeated him two times, 742 and 744, when he was finally killed.¹⁷ The Türks did not give it up, and they put on the throne the younger brother of *Ozmiš*, *Hulongfu* (鶻隴匐) called *Bomei tegin* as *Bomei* (白眉) *qayan*.¹⁸ According to our Uyghur sources, the remnants of the Türks were still in war in the next year of Hen (*taqıqu yıl*, i.e. 745).¹⁹ At the end the Türks, who became totally disappointed with their own rulers, accepted the sovereignty of the rulers of the Basmil, who were close relatives of their original ruling clan.²⁰ So this was the final moment in the history of the once so mighty Türks in Inner Asia.

14 LMT 230.

15 *Jiu Tangshu* 215b: *Zhonghua shuju*, 6054; LMT, 230.

16 Terkhi E 6: *ozmiš tegin udarqanta yoriyur tedi*; E 9: *ozmiš tegin qan bolmiš qon yılqa yoridim*; SU N. 9: *ozmiš tegin qan bolmiš qon yılqa yoridim*. S. Klyashtorny, The Terkhin Inscription. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* XLII (1982), 343.

17 LMT, 230, Terkhi S1-2.: *ekinti ... bičün yılqa yoridim ... süñüşdüm anta sančdım qanin anta tutdum [qatunin anta altim] ... anta kisrä baši kälti*, Klyashtorny 1982, 343.

18 三載，拔悉蜜等殺烏蘇米施，傳首京師，獻太廟。其弟白眉特勒鶻隴匐立，是為白眉可汗。 *Jiu Tangshu* 215b: *Zhonghua shuju*, 6054; 'Im 3. Jahr (744) töteten die Pa-si-mi und andere Wu-su-mi-schi und schickten seinen Kopf nach dem Hauptstadt. Man brachte der Kopf im kaiserlichen Ahnentempel dar. Sein jüngerer Bruder Po-mei T'ê-le (=Tegin) namens Hulong-wu bestieg den Thron, und dies war Po-mei Khagan.' LMT 230.

19 Terkhi S 2-3: *taqıqu yılqa yoridim yilladım bešinč ay üč yigirmikä qalıšdı süñüşdüm anta sančim*. Klyashtorny 1982, 343.

20 LMT 230.

A Descendant of the Prophet in the Hungarian Marches Seyyid Ali and the Ethos of Gaza

Pál Fodor

Sometime during the reign of Murad III (1574–1595) – presumably in the second half of the 1570s – Seyyid Ali, a *timar*-holder *sipahi* from Szigetvár submitted the following petition to the ruler:

“May God – whose praises I recite, the exalted! – increase the life and luck of his majesty the illustrious and fortunate padishah, the refuge of the world, day by day, and let him attain his objectives in both worlds. We are submitting the following request to the dust of his noble feet. I, a descendant from the house of the apostle of God from venerated Mecca, am your servant. When the late and deceased Sultan Süleyman khan – the mercy and forgiveness of God be upon him! – was waging the sacred war at Szigetvár, in the fight against the infidels I, the humble servant, cut off the heads of several infidels and rolled them before his imperial stirrups. As a reward for my bravery, his excellency the pasha¹ deigned to assign and grant me 10 *akçes* [a day] from the net accrual of [the pious foundation] of Aya Sofya. Since, however, I belong to the rank of *timar*-holding [*sipahis*], I declined it and set myself the goal to wage a sacred war against the infidels in the marches. By divine wisdom, the lord of a castle by the name of Kanizsa deployed some 800 infidel gunmen to lie in ambush, and with his horsemen he galloped under our castle. We confronted them and by the grace of God – may he be exalted! – and by the miracles of God’s apostle defeated, scattered and dispersed the infidel horsemen. But we had no knowledge of the gunmen lying in ambush, who suddenly launched a hail of bullets at us from behind, killing some of us and capturing others. The horse of your humble servant was also hit, opened from one side to the other. Poor me, I received five or six wounds and fell into captivity. Since the death of the late Süleyman sultan I have been the prisoner of the infidels. The unbelievers have tortured and harassed me a lot. Since they know I am a descendant of the prophet, they set the ransom for me at 1500 gurus, after the cruellest tortures. I have left my little son as hostage with the infidels and have come [here] to inform the leaders of the state of my miserable plight. I am entreating the illustrious

¹ Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed pasha.

padishah for the sake of the only living Allah the most high, for the salvation of the soul of God's apostle, the pride of the creatures,² and for the salvation of the soul of your predecessors and of the late Sultan Selim khan, that you take pity on this feeble servant, the issue of the prophet's house and rescue and liberate from the hands of the infidels my little son your servant, a descendant from the prophet's house. Two months remain till the deadline; if I fail to return, my little son will be tortured, his body mutilated and maimed. My illustrious padishah, you have thousands of manumitted slaves and disciples; add an offspring of the prophet to your other servants so that we shall recite blessing prayers with our son and daughter for the illustrious padishah until our dying breath. From the bottom of the gaol [my son] keeps scanning the gates asking: when is my father, your servant, coming? With heavy irons on his hands, feet and neck he is suffering in captivity, tied up; each night and day appears to be a thousand days. We are entreating the fortunate padishah: for the sake of the prophet, he shall not leave the prophet's descendants, your servants, in the hands of the infidels. In return for your kindness toward this poor soul the descendant of the prophet, may God's apostle be your advocate and may he intercede that you shall see and meet Allah – may he be exalted!

The poor Seyyid Ali"

We can safely state that the story narrated in the letter was common at this time: in the Hungarian frontier area similar skirmishes were galore; defeated soldiers were held captives, heavy and even heavier ransoms were imposed on them, their hopeless and humiliating struggle for raising the required sum was an everyday matter.³ The aggrieved party of the "ransom business" was not the simple foot-soldier or commoner in the first place (he was quickly sold by the owner in the slave trade) but the officers, high-ranking dignitaries with known (or presumed) wealth behind them, from whom their holders tried to extort considerable amounts of money. The writer of the letter belonged to the latter category on two counts: he was a *timar*-holder and also a *seyyid*, a descendant (at least by name) of the prophet. In this situation, both main elements of his identity were detrimental to him: he could

² Muhammad.

³ Géza Pálffy, Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman–Hungarian Frontier in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century. In: Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor (eds.), *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders (Early Fifteenth – Early Seventeenth Centuries)*. (The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage, 37.) Leiden, Boston 2007, 35–83; Ferenc Szakály, The Ransom of Ali Bey of Koppány: The Impact of Capturing Slaves on Trade in Ottoman Hungary', in Dávid and Fodor (eds.), *Ransom Slavery*, 93–114.

expect a large ransom as a *sipahi*,⁴ and since he could not make a secret of his seyyidhood, the price of his freedom was set even higher. Pressed by the deadline, eventually he left his underage son in Kanizsa as hostage and left for the capital in his utter despair to ask the sultan directly for money to pay his ransom. The end of the story is not known: we do not know whether he got help from his lord or not, and whether he returned into captivity or sacrificed his son left in subjection. Each option is possible, as they were frequent in the marches. For this reason, we shall not focus on the denouement of the story (although it would be important to know the sultan's reply), but on what the applicant adduced as arguments to move the ruler, hoping that he would not get the customary negative answer.

Seyyid Ali deployed several methods of psychological influencing, and apparently he laid the stress on those that affected the ruler's and the dynasty's prestige. First, he presented himself as a fellow fighter of Sultan Süleyman whose aureole was shining with increasing glory, putting special emphasis on his heroism in the Szigetvár campaign. Sultan Murad III, Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and the Halveti dervishes around them were making every effort to "sacralise" the conquering sultan, to establish the places of memory of the Szigetvár campaign,⁵ so it was no accident that Ali emphatically named his participation in the great sultan's last "sacred war". At the same time, it is obvious that there were another two arguments in store to persuade the ruler: his commitment to the *gaza*, the fight for the religion and his being a *seyyid*, the descendant of the prophet. To make it clear why he regarded this tactic useful, let us take a glance at the situation of the prophet's descendants within Islam.

In mostly functionally stratified Muslim societies with little attention to ethnic differences, people from "the house of the prophet" (*ehl-i beyt*) constituted the only social "class" or "caste" based on ties of blood.⁶ Islamic jurists had argued a lot about who belonged to them, but in practice (and also among the Ottomans) the descendants of Muhammad's two grandsons, Hasan and Husayn (the sons of the fourth caliph Ali) were regarded as offspring of the prophet, "lords" (the original meaning of *seyyid* is 'lord', 'master', 'chief'). Those with a genealogy from Hasan were called *şerif* (pl. *eşraf*), those issuing from Husayn were called *seyyid* (pl.

4 Similarly to Receb of Pécs (Peçuy), who failed to acquire the money for his ransom in a struggle that lasted for more than a decade. See Zsuzsanna J. Újváry, A Muslim Captive's Vicissitudes in Ottoman Hungary (Mid-Seventeenth Century). In: Dávid and Fodor (eds.), *Ransom Slavery*, 141–167.

5 See Pál Fodor, *Turbék. Szulejmán szultán szigetvári Türbevárosa a 16–17. századi oszmán-török forrásokban* [Turbék. Sultan Süleyman's Türbe Town in 16–17th century Ottoman-Turkish sources]. Budapest 2020, 7–32; Norbert Pap and Máté Kitanics, A sejk álma – Turbék oszmán zarándokváros története [The shejk's dream. History of the Ottoman pilgrimage town of Turbek]. In: Norbert Pap (ed.), *Turbék: Szulejmán szultán zarándokvárosa* [Turbék: Sultan Süleyman's pilgrimage town]. Budapest 2020 (forthcoming).

6 On the discussion below, see Murat Sarıcık, *Osmalı İmparatorluğu'nda Nakîbü'l-Eşrâfîlık Müessesesi*. (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, VIII/19.) Ankara 2003; Rüya Kılıç, *Osmanlıda Seyyidler ve Şerifler*. (Kitap Yayınevi, 86; Tarih ve Coğrafya Dizisi, 35.) İstanbul 2005.

sadat). Respect to them was expected from everyone, as it was believed to be identical to respect for the prophet. (The famous mystic Ibn Arabi writes somewhere that love of the *seyyids* is a kind of service to God.)⁷ They were specially treated, and enjoyed several privileges. Some of the descendants played outstanding roles in the history of different states, including the foundation of the Seljuk and Ottoman Empires. Without them and without the dervish orders they established or controlled, the conquest of Anatolia, its settlement and the shaping of its Muslim-Turkish spiritual-cultural profile would not have taken place so quickly and successfully.

For this reason, the Ottoman sultans also held the *seyyids* and *şerifs* in high esteem. In the early times pious foundations were initiated for them and the conservation of their privileges was seen to. The Ottoman government thinking in functional categories subsumed them in the “military estate” (*askeri*), that is, among the “servile elite” of the state, hence they were exempt from taxation. The upper, educated crust of the *seyyids* was closely intertwined with the scholars of Islamic law (*ilmiye, ehl-i ilm*: “men of learning/religion”), and the leaders appointed to them were usually trained *ulemas*. At the same time, they could also be found in the lower social strata, some living very modestly. The state assumed the duty of allocating some pay (*vazife*: “daily pay, salary”) for the needy from the revenues of the great sultanic and state pious foundations, or from customs receipts.⁸ Their privileged legal status was revealed by an external sign (*alamet*): they wore a green turban (often complemented with a green gown) which could only be worn by them.

The privileges implied by seyyidhood had an irresistible appeal to those who wished to rise from a low social rank or an intolerable situation. Corrupt practices were soon to emerge, and for a modest pay-off one *müteseyyid* (sham *seyyid*) after the other joined the rank of descendants. To weed out and punish them, a seyyid inspector (*sadat nazırı*) was already appointed in Bayezid I’s time. This position was abolished by Mehmed II, but around 1494 the office of the “chief of the descendants of the prophet” (*nakibü’l-eşraf*) was set up to administer the matters of the descendants, write, issue and archive the certifying documents, explore and punish the false claimants, and represent the “caste” at the courts of justice. In the Ottoman Empire only those who possessed an official certificate (*hüccet, temessük*) and authenticated ancestry (family tree, scroll: *silsilename, şecere, tomar*) were acknowledged as real *seyyids* and *şerifs*.

With the deterioration of living conditions in the 16th century, the pressure on the *seyyid* institution increased immensely: masses tried, without success, to acquire the legal status of *seyyid*. An early 17th century treatise puts the number of *müteseyyids* risen from *reaya* status at 300,000.⁹ This aggravation of the situation called for the

⁷ Sarıca, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda, 60.

⁸ See, e.g., İstanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler 5227, 126–127, 150–151, 159.

⁹ Kılıç, *Osmanlıda Seyyidler*, 103.

extension of the controlling authority: to represent the *nakibü'l-eşraf* “deputies” (*kaimakam*) were gradually appointed to every province and district of the empire to look after the local *seyyids* in cooperation with the *kadıs*. Evidently, mass fraud had a negative impact on the evaluation of the descendants: the numerically decreasing productive and tax-paying population blamed them for the growing taxes, and the state officials were more and more irritated by the inevitable multiplication of the claimants. At the same time, they had to take care to maintain the delicate balance between religious duty (respect for the *seyyids*) and the interest of the state. While therefore they did the utmost to curb the influx, they often had to yield to the “legal” or “authentic” *seyyids*’ request who solicited help, so as to uphold the prestige and legitimacy of dynastic power. As a result, a growing portion of state resources was consumed by people who performed no directly useful work. It is another matter that their presumed spiritual capacities (the power of their prayers, intercession with the next world) were resorted to by the masses, and the state also counted on them when launching a major military campaign or when afflicted by a grave vicissitude (e.g. an epidemic).

This duality is reflected by a “mirror for princes” from the second half of the 16th century, whose anonymous author also touches on concerns about the *sadat* and *eşraf*. Having made a point of stressing the significance of the reverence due to them, he harshly denounces the abuses and proposes pieces of advice to enhance the efficiency of control, eradicate corruption and punish corrupt officials. Finally, he declares his following opinion about the social role of the *seyyids*: “In our judgment, it is more appropriate if the *seyyids* do not enter the rank of court cavalry, the *ziamet*- and *timar*-holders. The reason is this: when there is a service which is assigned to one of them [and the person fails to appear], a penalty is imposed on him with reference to his failure to comply.¹⁰ The proper thing for *seyyids* with *ulema* training is to be judges (*kadı*) or teachers (*müderris*), and those who do not choose the occupation of judge or teacher should be preachers or *şeyhs*; those who decline these options should be allotted a daily pay from the profit [of the pious foundations] according to their merit, or they should be put in adequate lower religious positions. The craftsmen should be left as they are.”¹¹

In the light of this position, transmitting the opinion of the upper circles and of the afore-mentioned, Seyyid Ali’s behaviour and the tactic applied in the petition appear distinctly risky. For one thing, it was practically unparalleled that he had declined the grand vizier’s offer for a decent allowance, which could ensure a peaceful life. Lots of other *seyyids* and non-*seyyids* would have happily retired to the

10 Which is unimaginable for a *seyyid*. The author’s opinion is that a *seyyid* should not join such a body to avoid being called to account with that status.

11 Yaşar Yücel, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilâtına Dair Kaynaklar. Kitâb-i Müstetâb – Kitabı Mesâlihi'l-Müslimîn ve Menâfî'i'l-Mü'minin – Hırzû'l-Mülûk*. (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, III/13.) Ankara 1988, 201; cf. Kılıç, *Osmanlıda Seyyidler*, 112. Analysis of the work: Marinos Sariyannis with a chapter by E. Ekin Tuşalp Atıyas, *A History of Ottoman Political Thought Up to the Early Nineteenth Century*. Leiden, Boston 2019, 151–158.

capital or a fortified town in Hungary with the daily 10 *akçes* (a rather high pay for castle guards and janissaries) to live their lives in safety (eking out some extra money with an auxiliary job). Ali, however, proudly professed to being a *sipahi*, a claim that easily generated disapproval, and was apparently convinced that by taking the course of the old heroes imbued with the *gazi* ethos and demonstratively volunteering to fight against the infidels, his sipahihood would elevate his seyyidhood and imbue it with missionary content. His reference to the religious war is a rare and hence important piece of information in support of the fact that the *gazi* idea was not only the interpretive and narrative framework for court historiographers or intellectuals (poets and scholars) in Ottoman Hungary,¹² but there were indeed warriors who – unlike the majority – did not only fight or plunder booty to make a living but had come to the border zone driven by their inner conviction, consciously undertaking the danger to fulfil the command of Allah and his prophet to fight against the infidels and spread Islam. It is another matter that Ali was exceptional within his peer group; this is obvious from the *timar defteris* of the Szigetvár *sancak*: in 1570 not a single *seyyid* can be found among the *sipahis*,¹³ in that around 1592 there is one: Seyyid Ahmed, son of Seyyid Mehmed, who was in possession of a prebend worth 7,000 *akçes*.¹⁴

Ali added another two arguments to his commitment to the *gaza*. Firstly, he subtly alluded to the fact that a *seyyid* was worth as much as any member of the sultan's army of slave status, and therefore the padishah might deign to do as much for him as for those. Secondly, he “generously” promised to arrange with the prophet to intercede for him with the Almighty.

As noted above, it is not known what the response to Seyyid Ali's application was, and whether the ruler did help him out, contrary to the general practice. With this information missing, all that can be concluded is this: emulating the example of the great predecessors, Seyyid Ali paid a great price for the *gaza* mission. He was soon caught, and, irrespective of how the adventure ended, his life was ruined by captivity for at least a decade, in the course of which he tried in vain to collect the

12 On the latter, see Sudár Balázs, *A Palatics-kódex török versgyűjteményei. Török költészet és zene a XVI. századi hódoltságban* [Collections of Turkish poems in the Palatics codex. Turkish poetry and music in Ottoman Hungary]. (Humanizmus és Reformáció, 29.) Budapest 2005; Idem, Görösgál ostroma 1555-ben és a hódoltsági török epikus költészet [The siege of Görösgál in 1555 and the Turkish epic poetry in Ottoman Hungary]. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 115:2 (2002) 353–374; Idem, Kanizsa 1601. évi ostroma török szemmel [The siege of Kanizsa in 1601 as seen by an Ottoman Turk]. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 119:4 (2006) 1025–1058; Dženita Karić, A birodalom szolgálatában: Ali Dede élete és munkássága [In the service of the empire: The life and work of Ali Dede]. In: Pap (ed.), *Turbék* (forthcoming).

13 İstanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Tapu Tahrir Defterleri 503.

14 Tapu Tahrir Defterleri 638, 12b. At the same time, three *seyyids* were registered among the holders of *müstahfiz timaris*: two gunners (*topi*) and an arrow-maker (*kemanî*) from Siklós: *ibid.*, 52b, 54a.

ransom money.¹⁵ The repeated fiascos must have strengthened in him the remorse for not having accepted the grand vizier's offer at the time...

Supplement

Seyyid Ali's petition to Sultan Murad III
(presumably second half of the 1570s)

Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, E. 321.

- (1) Hak sübhanehu ve taala devletlü ve saadetlü padişah-i alem-penah hazretlerinin ömr ve devletlerin yevmen fi yevmen ziyade eyleyüb iki cihan muradatın
- (2) hasıl eyleye. Hak-i pay-i şeriflerine arz-i hal budur ki: bu duacınız Mekke-i muazzamadan al-i beyt-i resulu'l-lah sadat duacı olub merhum-i mağfur
- (3) Sultan Süleyman han aleyhi'r-rahmet ve'l-rızvan Sigetvar gazasında iken küffar muharebesinde bu hakir nice kafir başın kesdüm rikab-i hümayunlarına
- (4) galtan eyledüm. Ol yoldaşlığım mukabelesinde paşa hazretleri Ayasofya zevaidi[n]den on akçe tayin ve sadaka buyurdılar. Erbab-i timardan olduğum
- (5) ecilden kabul etmemişdüm, serhadlerde kafirlere gaza etmek murad edindüm. Hikmet Allahun ol serhadde Kanice nam hisar beği sekiz yüz mikdarı tüfenklü
- (6) kafirleri pusuya koymış kendü atlasıyla bizüm hisarumuz altına seğirdüb biz dahi gazilerle karşı çıktuk. Allahu taalanun inayeti ve resulu'l-lah
- (7) mucizatiyle kafirün atlasın sıyub kırub kovarken ol pusuda olan tüfenklü kafirden haberümüz yok idi ansuzın ardumuzdan tüfenk yağdurdılar,
- (8) kırılanumuz kırıldı tutulan tutuldu. Bu hakirün atımı tüfenkle vurdılar, bir yanından bir yanına açıldı. Bu fakir beş altı yerde yaralanub kaire yesir oldum.
- (9) Merhum Sultan Süleyman vefat edeliden kafir elinde yesirin, kafirler canuma nice azab ve işkence etdiler; sadat olduğumuz bilmekle eşedd-i azabdan sonra
- (10) bin beşyüz kuruşa bahaya kesdiler. Şimdiki halde oğulcuğımı yerüme kafir elinden rehin koyub bu fakir ahval-i perişanum sahib-i saadetlere ilam etmeğe
- (11) geldüm. Devletlü padişahdan ricam budur ki Allahu taala hazretlerinin varlığı birliği hürmetiyçün ve fahr-i kainat resulu'l-lah ruhiyçün ve ecdad-i izamunuz
- (12) ruhlariyçün merhum Sultan Selim han ruhiyçün bu zayıf al-i beyt-i resul sadat duacıya şefkat edüb küffar elinden al-i beyt-i resul
- (13) oğulcuğum duacıların halas ve azad eyleyeler. Vademüze iki ay kalmışdur; varmayacak olursam oğulcuğuma çok işkenceler ederler bedenine
- (14) noksan ve zarar ederler. Devletlü padişahum, niçe bin azadlularun çırağların vardır; bir sadatı dahi sair duacılarına zamime edesin

15 Unfortunately, it cannot be inferred from the brief allusions in the letter when exactly he was captured. "The day after" the capture of Sziget (7th of September) clashes between the Hungarian garrison of Kanizsa and the Ottomans in Szigetvár began and went on and on in the next months and years. For more detail on this, see László Vándor, Kanizsa története a honfoglalástól a város török alóli felszabadulásáig [A history of Kanizsa from the settlement of the Magyars to the liberation from the Ottomans]. In: *Nagykanizsa. Városi monográfia. Első kötet*. Nagykanizsa 1994, 288–304.

- (15) ta ki ölüb gidince oğlumuzla kızımızla devletlü padişaha hayır dualar eyleyevüz. Babam duacınız babam kaçan gelür deyü zindan dibinden kapulara
(16) bakar; el ayak ve boğazı nice batman demirle kayd-i bendde giriftar yatur; her gecesi her günü bin yıl gibi geçer saadetlü padişahdan mercudur ki nur-i Muhammed
(17) hürmetiçün bu sadat duacılarunuzu kafır elinde giriftar komayasız. Bu sadat fukaraya olan ihsanunuz mukabelesinde resulu'l-lah şefinüz
(18) olub Allahu taala didarin [ve] likasın nasib eyleye.
El-fakir Seyyid
Ali

The Tatars in Romanian Historiography

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Interactions between Tatars and Romanians have been ongoing for almost eight centuries and have played a significant role in the evolution of Romanian history, between the 11th and 18th centuries. However, the Tatar problem was seldom addressed by Romanian researchers. The explanation for this deficiency lies both in the inaccessibility of the specific historical sources, Tatar and Ottoman, and moreover in the fact that Romanian historians deemed the Tatars to merely have been the coercive instruments of the Ottoman Porte. To this I might add the preconceived opinion of many historians that the Tatars themselves were not at all civilization bearers, but rather a predatory and destructive force; this preconception relegated any Tatar-related topics to the fringes of scientific interest. In fact, many Romanian historians outright deny the contribution of the Tatar factor to the development and evolution of Romanian history and culture. Very few Romanian historians admit the role of the Cumans (Qipchaqs) and the Golden Horde in the creation and consolidation of the feudal Romanian states of Moldavia and Wallachia. We would like to remind our readers that the Qipchaqs (Cumans) and the Golden Horde laid the foundations for the ethnogenesis of the modern Tatar people. In this regard, I wish to highlight the significant example of a certain piece of information found in a Papal document, long and deliberately ignored by Romanian historiographers, who considered it “inopportune” (!). This document was published in 1913, in the 2nd volume of the well-known collection of Franciscan historical sources, coordinated by Girolamo Golubovich. It is the letter of a Franciscan monk, Ladislaus of Kaffa (Crimea), dated April 10th 1287, and contains the first attested record of the name of Moldavia. The monk wrote to the Pope in Rome in a laudatory manner about a great Tatar high-ranking official named “*Ymor, filium Molday dominum terrae*”. Accepting the proof of this document would inarguably also mean

accepting the fundamental role of the Tatars in the foundation of the Moldavian state.¹

The first extended study of Romanian–Tatar relations was published in 1926 in a cultural gazette. Its author is not widely known, and the work itself does not challenge the information and outlook contained in medieval Romanian chronicles. Nevertheless, this scantily cited article merits at least a passing mention in a broader inventory, being one of the first works of modern Romanian historiography dedicated to the history of the Romanian–Tatar relationship.²

The first scientific works that brought a new, more realistic perspective on the role the Cumans, and later the Tatars, played in Romanian medieval history were the communications delivered by the great Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga in the auditorium of the Romanian Academy in 1926 and 1927. Both addresses were published in the “Annals of the Romanian Academy”.³ Nicolae Iorga noticed the fundamental, constructive role of the Cumans and Tatars in the foundation, organization and consolidation process of the first Romanian states of the 14th century. Although Nicolae Iorga is widely regarded as the greatest Romanian historian, his ground-breaking idea did not manage to change the broadly negative perception of the Tatars’ image in Romanian history in the slightest. Nearly all Romanian historians of the following decades ignored these works of the great historian Nicolae Iorga – at times deliberately – and they remained hidden in libraries for a long time. They were only brought to light in 2007, a great 80 years later, by a genuine scholar named Neagu Djuvara, who had lived abroad for over half a century.⁴ Yet Nicolae Iorga’s novel, realistic take on the fundamentally positive role of the Cumans-Tatars in Romanian history was vehemently contested,

1 “Ladislaus curtos Gazariae, Relatio de Tartaria Aquilonari data Caphae (10 Aprilis 1287)”, ed. by Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell’Oriente franciscano*, II, Quaracchi 1913, 443–445. See also Thomas Tănase, „Le «Khan» Nogai et la géopolitique de la Mer Noire en 1287 à travers un document missionnaire: la lettre de Ladislas, custode de Gazarie”, *Annuario Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica*, nos. 6–7 (2004–2005), Bucarest–Venezia, 267–301; Tasin Gemil, “Cumano-Tatars and the Early Medieval Romanian States”, *Studia et Documenta Turcologica*, no.2/2014, the Institute of Turcology, the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, 85–97; Roman Hautala, *Crusaders, Missionaries and Eurasian Nomads in the 13th–14th Centuries: a Century of Interactions*, ed. by Victor Spinei, Romanian Academy Press –, „Carol I” Museum of Brăila, Bucharest-Brăila 2017, 145–151.

2 P. Georgian, „Tătarii în țările românești”, *Convorbiri Literare*, an. 58, July-August 1926, Bucharest, 590–610. A rudimentary article was published in 1916 by Tudor Pamfile (of Bârlad), „Prada tătarilor din toamna anului 1758”, *Miron Costin*, an. IV, nr.1.

3 N. Iorga, „Români și tătari în evul mediu”, *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, s.III, t.VII, 1927, 103–107; N. Iorga, „Imperiul cumanilor și domnia lui Băsărabă. Un capitol din colaborația româno-barbară în evul mediu”, *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, s.III, t.VIII, 1928, 97–103.

4 Neagu Djuvara, *Thocomerius – Negru Vodă. Un Voivod de origine cumană la începuturile Țării Românești*, Bucharest 2007; Neagu Djuvara, *Răspuns criticilor mei și neprietenilor lui Negru Vodă*, Bucharest, 2011.

particularly within the academic environment (including and chiefly by two historians of Romanian origin, who have been living in France for more than 40 years!).⁵

Four decades after Nicolae Iorga's above-mentioned papers were published, the issue of the Romanian–Tatar rapport was seldom tackled in Romanian historiography, only in a few brief papers of limited circulation. The Romanian historians of the time paid tribute to the clichés that had been cultivated for centuries by Romanian medieval chroniclers, who viewed the Tatars solely as destructive, frightening forces and later on as terrifying agents of punishment and pressure, employed not only by the Ottoman Porte, but also by God, against the Christians in general and the Romanians in particular. In the interwar period, one sole work made significant progress in tackling a Tatar-related issue which had gone almost unknown until then.⁶

It was only over the last five-six decades that solid works on the topic have begun to appear, analysing the role of the Tatar factor in Romanian history more or less objectively. In this regard, the truly remarkable contribution of Alexandru Gonța bears mention. Gonța, a researcher of Romanian medieval history, is the author of the first attempt at a comprehensive, extended study of the relations between the Romanians and the Golden Horde.⁷ Prior to 1990, very few Romanian historians dared tackle themes pertaining to the Tatars, primarily owing to the available sources which, being of mostly Tatar and Turkish–Ottoman origin, were only accessible to Turkish language specialists. Another hindrance came in the form of Communist censorship which forbade topics related to Bessarabia or Crimea; more specifically, after the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, the state outlawed the mention of place and river, lakes names of the left bank of the Prut river, including regions one inhabited by the Tatar population. Although limited in size and scope, the works authored during that period nevertheless represent

5 Matei Cazacu, „O controversă: Thocomerius – Negru Vodă”, *Revista Istorică*, tom XIX, nr. 1–2, 2008, 49–58; Matei Cazacu, Dan Ioan Mureșan, *Ioan Basarab, un domn român la începuturile Țării Românești*, Cartier Press, Kishinev 2013.

6 Gh. I. Năstase, „Hotarul lui Halil Pașa și cele două ceasuri”, *Buletinul Societății Regale de Geografie*, tom L (1931), Bucharest 1932. See also A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Marea invazie tătară și sud-estul european*, Bucharest 1933.

7 Alexandru Gonța, *Românii și Hoarda de Aur 1241–1502*, Jon Dumitru-Verlag, München 1983. See also Victor Spinei & Mihail Guboglu, „Pe marginea unei istorii a relațiilor româno-tătare”, *Anuarul Institutului de istorie și arheologie A. D. Xenopol–Iași*, XXIII/1, 1986.

substantial contributions to approaching this important issue in Romanian and Tatar history.⁸

After the fall of the Communist regime, in December 1989, a period of national rebirth also began for the Romanian Tatar population. It was only then that the majority of the Romanian population even discovered the existence of the Tatars in their midst. Until that point, most Tatars would present themselves as Turks. Their assumption of this double identity – both Tatar and Turkish – was dictated by individual and collective security imperatives.⁹ The Tatars successfully managed to organize and appoint their representative to the Romanian Parliament, a move which increased general interest for the Tatars as a whole. They also issued their own magazine, titled “Karadeniz” (“The Black Sea”), published monthly in Tatar, Turkish and Romanian, which provided much information alongside historical and cultural commentary pertaining to the Tatar population.¹⁰ Moreover, international scientific reunions were organized to tackle themes critical to the Tatars themselves, with the proceedings of these reunions subsequently published in successive volumes. All in all, the past three decades have seen more published material on the Tatars than the entirety of the preceding period combined. These works serve to

8 See G. Brătianu, „Demetrius, princeps Tartarorum”, *Revue des études roumaines*, 9–10, 1965; Vasile Mihordea, „Participarea diplomatică a Moldovei la aplanarea neînțelegerii polono-tătare în 1763”, *Studii. Revistă de istorie*, no.2/1966; Cicerone Poghirc, „Goths et Tatars en Crimée au XVI^e siècle (D’après le témoignage de Busbecq)”, *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, V–VI, Bucharest, 1967; Tasin Gemil, „Două documente tătarăști referitoare la campania din 1476 a sultanului Mehmed al II-lea în Moldova”, *Anuarul Institutului de istorie și arheologie A. D. Xenopol din Iași*, tom V (1968); Mustafa A. Mehmed, „La politique ottomane à l’égard de la Moldavie et du Khanat de Crimée vers la fin du règne du sultan Mehmed II Le Conquérant”, *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire*, tome XIII (1974), no.2; Tasin Gemil, „Un yarlîg al hanului Crimeei Gazi Ghiray-Bora către domnul Moldovei Aron Vodă-Tiranul”, *Anuarul Institutului de istorie și arheologie A. D. Xenopol din Iași*, tom XI (1974); Aurel Decei, „La Horde d’Or et les pays roumains aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles selon les historiens arabes contemporains”, *Romano-arabica*, 2, 1976; *idem*, „Invazia tătarilor din 1241/42 în ținuturile noastre după Djami’ ot Tevarikh a lui Fazl ol-Lah Raşid od-Din”, *Aurel Decei, Relații româno-orientale. Culegere de studii*, ed. by Virgil Ciociltan, Bucharest 1978; Vasile Mihordea, „Raporturile Moldovei și Țării Românești cu tătarii în secolele XVI–XVIII”, *Revista de Istorie*, nr.6/1979; Tasin Gemil, „Yeni belgeler göre <<Halil Paşa Yurdu>> ve <<İki Saatlik>> arazi”, *IX. Türk Tarih Kurumu Kongresi. Ankara, 21–25 Eylül 1981. Kongreye sunulan bildiriler*, II, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1988; Virgil Ciociltan, „Informațiile lui Guillaume de Rubruck despre români și bașkiri în lumina izvoarelor orientale”, *Românii în istoria universală*, II/1, 1987; Tasin Gemil, „Tatar Adı”, *Renkler*, vol.2/1989, Kriterion Press, Bucharest.

9 See Tasin Gemil, *Pe drumurile istoriei*, vol. I, Cluj University Press, 2019, 180–184; see also vol. II, 425–487.

10 See Melek Fetisleam, „Tătari”, *Cronologia Minorităților Naționale*, vol. II, ed. by Gido Attila, Cluj-Napoca 2013, 201–275.

uncover aspects and moments from the Tatars' true history.¹¹ Among these, of particular mention and relevance is the (re-)edition of the monumental source of the

11 See Virgil Ciocîltan, „Restaurația Hoardei de Aur și tratatele tătaro-genoveze din anii 1380–1387, *Revista Istorică*, tom 1/1990, nr.6; *idem*, „Geneza politicii pontice a Hoardei de Aur, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A. D. Xenopol–Iași*, XXVIII, 1991; E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, „Un atelier monétaire de la Horde d’Or sur le Danube: Saqçy-Isaccea (XIII–XIVe siècles), *Actes du XIe Congrès Internationale de Numismatique, Bruxelles 8–13 septembre 1991*; *idem*, „<<Tartarian zlots>> – The Golden Horde’s legacy in the monetary terminology and practice of mediaeval Moldavia and its neighbouring countries”, *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire*, nos.3–4, 30/1991; Virgil Ciocîltan, „Hegemonia Hoardei de Aur la Dunărea de Jos (1301–1341), *Revista Istorică*, tom 5/1994, nos. 11–12; *idem*, „Cinghizhanizii și comerțul: izvoare și abordări istoriografice”, *Revista Istorică*, tom 5/1994, nos. 3–4; Eugen Nicolae, „Quelques considérations sur les monnaies de la <<Ville Neuve>> (Yangi-şehr/Şehr al cedit)”, *Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică*, XI (1995); Tasin Gemil, „L’Evolution des limites de l’habitat des tatars nogai au sud-est de la Moldavie”, *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire*, Tome XXXV, no. 3–4, Juillet-Décembre 1996; Tasin Gemil (ed.), *Originea tătarilor. Locul lor în România și în lumea turcă*, Kriterion Press, Bucharest, 1997; Virgil Ciocîltan, *Mongolii și Marea Neagră în secolele XIII–XIV. Contribuția Cinghizhanizilor la transformarea bazinului pontic în placă turnantă a comerțului euro-asiatic*, Editura Enciclopedică, Bucharest 1998; Tasin Gemil, „Crimeea în politica pontică a Porții otomane”, *Național și universal în istoria românilor. Studii oferite Prof. dr. Șerban Papacostea cu ocazia împlinirii a 70 de ani*, Editura Enciclopedică, Bucharest 1998; Nagy Pienaru, „Otomanii și Hoarda de Aur. Relațiile lui Murad II cu Ulug Mehmed”, *Studii și materiale de istorie medie*, XX, 2002; Tasin Gemil (ed.), *Tătarii în istorie și în lume*, Kriterion Press, Bucharest, 2003; Viorel Achim, „Despre misiunile la tătari ale magistrului Ponyt (1263, 1270)”, *Istorie și diplomatie în relațiile internaționale. Omagiu istoricului Tahsin Gemil*, ed. by Daniel Flaut & Iolanda Țighilui, Ovidius University Press, Constanța 2003; Nagy Pienaru, „<<Proiectul scitic>>. Relațiile lui Ștefan cel Mare cu Hoarda Mare”, *Revista Istorică*, nr. 5–6, 2003; *idem*, „Relațiile lui Ștefan cel Mare cu Hanatul din Crimeea. O controversă: prima incursiune tătară în Moldova”, *Istorie și diplomatie în relațiile internaționale. Omagiu istoricului Tahsin Gemil*, ed. by Daniel Flaut & Iolanda Țighilui, Ovidius University Press, Constanța 2003; *idem*, „Moldova și Hanatul din Crimeea. 1484–1492”, *Studii și materiale de istorie medie*, XXII, 2004; Sergeant Osman, „Configurația geopolitică a Peninsulei Crimeea în spațiul ponto-caspic”, *Geopolitica. Revistă de geografie politică, geopolitică și geostrategie*, anul II, nos. 11–12, 2004; Tasin Gemil, *Statutul juridic al Hanatului Crimeei față de Poarta otomană (sec. XV–XVIII)*, Ovidius University Press, Constanța 2005; Gabriel Andreescu (ed.), Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveanu & Volker Adam, *Tătarii din România: Teme identitare / Tartars in Romania: Problems of Identity*, APADOR-CH Centre for Human Rights, Bucharest 2005; Nagy Pienaru, „Românii și tătarii. Relațiile Țării Românești cu Hoarda de Aur în vremea lui Mircea cel Bătrân”, *Vocația istoriei. Prinos Profesorului Șerban Papacostea*, ed. by O. Cristea & Gh. Lazăr, Istros Publishing, Brăila 2008; Tasin Gemil, „Relații comerciale moldo-tătare în secolul al XVIII-lea”, *Românii în Europa medievală (între Orientul bizantin și Occidentul latin). Studii în onoarea profesorului Victor Spinei*, ed. by D. Teicu & I. Căndea, Istros Publishing, Brăila 2008; *idem*, „Relațiile româno-otomano-tătare și problema <<Hotarului lui Halil Pașa>>”, *Politică, diplomatie și război. Profesorului Gheorghe Buzatu la 70 de ani*, ed. by L. Damean & M. Cîrstea, Universitaria Press, Craiova 2009; Radu Săgeată, „Tătarii din Crimeea – între Kiev și Ankara”, *Geopolitica. Revistă de geografie politică, geopolitică și geostrategie*, an. VIII, no. 38, 2010; Tasin Gemil & Pienaru Nagy (eds.), *Moștenirea istorică a tătarilor*, vol. I–II, Romanian Academy Press (vol. II), 2010–2012; Stoica Lascu & Melek Fetisleam (eds.), *Contemporary Research in Turkology*

and Eurasian Studies. *A Festschrift in Honor of Professor Tasin Gemil on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, Cluj University Press 2013 (parts II and IV); Sergiu Iosipescu, „Autour du Khanat de Crimée. Cossagues et Ottomans dans la Mer Noire (milieu du XVI^e siècle – 1648) (I–II)”, *Studia et Documenta Turcologica*, no. 1/2013 and no. 2/ 2014, Cluj University Press; Virgil Coman, „Situția învățământului din regiunea Constanța în limbile de predare tătară și turcă reflectate într-un document din anul 1956”, *Moștenirea culturală turcă în Dobrogea*, ed. by Tasin Gemil, Gabriel Custurea & Delia Roxana Cornea, Constanța 2013; Laura-Adina Fodor, „The Tatars in the Collective Memory of the Szekely Inhabitants of the Sic Settlement, Transylvania”, *Studia et Documenta Turcologica*, no. 1/2013, Cluj University Press; Adriana Cupcea, „Evoluții identitare la comunitatea turcă și tătară din Dobrogea (Perioada comunistă și post comunistă)”, *Moștenirea culturală turcă în Dobrogea*, ed. by Tasin Gemil, Gabriel Custurea & Delia Roxana Cornea, Constanța 2013; Eugen Nicolae, „Așa-zisul ort al lui Despot-Vodă și zloții tătarești”, *Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică, Serie Nouă*, vol. IV (XVI), 2013; Stoica Lascu, „Turco-tătarii dobrogeni în lumina unor mărturii arhivistice constănțene (1885–1948)”, *Moștenirea culturală turcă în Dobrogea*, ed. by Tasin Gemil, Gabriel Custurea & Delia Roxana Cornea, Constanța 2013; Delia-Roxana Cornea, „Noi documente privind emigrația turco-tătarii din Dobrogea”, *Moștenirea culturală turcă în Dobrogea*, ed. by Tasin Gemil, Gabriel Custurea & Delia Roxana Cornea, Constanța 2013; Tasin Gemil, „Romanya tarihinde Kıpçak-Tatar Etkisi”, *Krymskoe Istoricheskoe Obozrenie*, no. 1/2014, Kazan-Bahchesaray; Sergeant Osman, „Did the Crimean Khans Collect Tribute (Harac or Hazine) from Moldova and Wallachia?”, *Studia et Documenta Turcologica*, no. 2/2014; Tasin Gemil, „Cumano-Tatars and the Early Medieval Romanian States”, *Studia et Documenta Turcologica*, no. 2/2014; Melek Fetisleam, „Secret Documents Regarding the Tatar National Movement in Romania”, *Studia et Documenta Turcologica*, no. 2/2014; idem, „Publicația <<Karadeniz>> a comunității tătare din Dobrogea – fereastră către întreaga lume turcică”, *Dunărea și Marea Neagră în spațiul euro-asiatic, Istorie, relații politice și diplomație*, Craiova 2014; Tasin Gemil, „Budzaksie i dobudzinskie tatary”, *Istoriya Tatar s drevneishikh vremen v semi tomakh*, tom V, Akademija Nauk Respubliki Tatarstan, Kazan 2014; Virgil Coman & Melek Fetisleam, „Turco-Tatars from Romania during the Government of Ion Antonescu – Archive Landmarks”, *Studia et Documenta Turcologica*, no. 2/2014; Tasin Gemil, „Hanatul tătar din Crimeea”, *Magazin Istoric*, nos. 5–7/2014; Ion Bistoreanu, „Crimeea, o perlă însângărată”, *Magazin Istoric*, nos. 8–9/2014; Tasin Gemil, „Cumano-tătarii și începuturile statelor medievale românești”, *Istoria ca datorie. Omagiu academicianului Ioan-Aurel Pop, la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani*, ed. by Ioan Bolovan & Ovidiu Ghitta, Romanian Academy / Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca 2015; idem, „Euroislamul – Cum vor tătarii să se integreze valorilor Occidentului”, *Sinteza. Revistă de cultură și gândire strategică*, no. 6, May 2015, Cluj-Napoca; idem, „Altın Orda'nın Türk tarihinde yeri ve dünya uygarlığına katkısı”, *Krymskoe Istoricheskoe Obozrenie*, no. 3/2015, Kazan-Bakhchisaraj; Adriana Cupcea (ed.), *Turcii și tătarii din Dobrogea*, Cluj-Napoca 2015; Tasin Gemil, „Tatary na Balkanakh”, *Zolotoja Orda v Mirovoi Istorii – The Golden Horde in World History*, Akademii Nauk Respubliki Tatarstan – University of Oxford, Kazan 2016; idem, „Probleme identitare actuale la tătarii dobrogeni”, *Sinteza. Revistă de cultură și gândire strategică*, no. 2, January 2016, Cluj-Napoca; Melek Fetisleam, *Rolul clerului musulman în susținerea mișcării naționale tătare din România în perioada interbelică*, Caietele C.N.S.A.S., Editura CNSAS, anno IX, no. 1–2 (17–18), 2017; idem, „Colaborarea fructuoasă dintre ambasadorul Turciei la București, Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver și liderul mișcării naționale tătare din România, Mustegib Hagi Fazıl/The Fruitful Collaboration between Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver, Turkish Ambassador to Bucharest and the Leader of the National Tatar Movement in Romania, Müstecib Hacı Fazıl”, *Relațiile româno-turce în perioada modernă / Romanian-Turkish Connections in modern times*, ed. by Tasin Gemil & Simona Deleanu, Cluj University Press 2020.

Tatar language, the “Codex Cumanicus”, through the efforts of an Romanian erudite linguist, the late Vladimir Drîmba.¹²

Nevertheless, the Tatar issue is still too little known in Romanian historiography, while the image of the Tatar as a plunderer and destroyer persists in the Romanian collective memory; this image is perpetuated to this day by certain historians and influencers of public opinion. As a significant example, I refer to a work (*Dobrogea. Cheia de boltă*) [“Dobrudja. The Keystone”] published in 2010 in Tulcea, which is the second largest city in Dobrudja – the Romanian region home to the majority of the country’s Tatar community. The author of this book, journalist Dan Arhire, is of Dobrudjan descent, and therefore lived and grew up in direct contact with the Tatars. This did not however prevent him from publishing a pernicious forgery and a gross insult to the Tatars. Invoking a dubious letter of sultan Suleiman the Magnificent to the Moldavian voivode Ștefan Rareș, Dan Arhire attributes the following statement to the great Ottoman sultan: “the Tatar army is a great weapon ... and it is known that [the Tatars] **eat horse and human meat!**” (Dan Arhire’s emphasis). I have perused thousands of Ottoman historical documents, and never have I come across such a serious accusation levelled at the Tatars. Only a handful of Christian medieval writings, attributed to some of the most hardened enemies of Islam, contain epithets struck in a similar vein, directed not only at the Tatars but also the Turks and the entire Muslim world at large. Yet the Ottomans viewed the Tatars as their most important and faithful allies, and the Crimean Khan was as a “brother” (*biraderim*) to the Ottoman Sultan. The Khan of Crimea occupied the second most distinguished position in Ottoman imperial protocol, second only to the Sultan himself; and the Tatar army were treated with the respect owed to a stalwart ally, not least by Ottoman chroniclers themselves who bestowed appreciative epithets upon them, likening them to “the morning wind”, “the hunters of foes” etc. Yet this modern Romanian journalist has the audacity to accuse the Tatars of cannibalism, without even indicating any historical evidence!

Given that, historical *imagology* – more precisely the topic of otherness – is a relatively new field in our scientific arena, only now beginning to be delved. More explicitly, the Tatar issue only began to be studied in a systematic manner after the 2008 opening of the Institute of Turkology at the Babeș-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca. Hence, the first consistent works related to the Tatars have authors either from Cluj, or who were formed by the Cluj academic environment: Călin Felezeu, Nagy Pienaru, Adina Fodor, Sergeant Osman, Melek Fetisleam, Adriana Cupcea, Margareta Aslan, Tasin Gemil, all members of the Institute of Turkology. In recent years, under my scientific supervision, three doctoral theses with topics referring

12 Vladimir Drîmba, *Codex Cumanicus*, Editura Enciclopedică, Bucharest 2000.

directly to Tatar history have been elaborated.¹³ All three were successfully defended at the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca and are awaiting publication. Among these doctoral theses is that of Ms. Adina Fodor, who studied the image of the Tatars in the medieval chronicles of the 15th to 18th centuries. The topic had been discussed some time before by Professor Călin Felezeu, in a brief paper published some years ago.¹⁴

Throughout these works, the issue of the image of the Tatars in Romanian medieval chronicles is approached from the perspective of both the times and the places of the chroniclers themselves, tackled in correlation with an analysis of the evolution of historiographic thought across the Romanian space. Depending on the region where in they lived and wrote, the historians of the Romanian Middle Ages can be divided into three categories: the chroniclers of Moldavia, of Wallachia and of Transylvania. The Tatar issue is more frequently addressed by Moldavian and Transylvanian chroniclers than by their Wallachian counterparts. The explanation for this is straightforward: the inhabitants of Moldavia were geographically and historically closer to the Tatars than those in Wallachia, while medieval Transylvanian historians, almost entirely of Hungarian or German descent, awarded the Tatars more attention due to the often-collaborative state relations between the Principality of Transylvania and the Khanate of Crimea. Despite this, the Saxon and Hungarian chroniclers from Transylvania often painted the Tatars in the ugliest light, primarily because they saw in them both foreign Muslims and the descendants of the great Mongol invaders of 1241.

If for 16th–17th centuries Transylvanian chroniclers the vision of the Tatars is fixist in nature, inspired by Western Christian anti-Muslim militants, the chroniclers of Moldavia, and by extension those of Wallachia, assessed the Tatar factor in relation to the evolution of Romanian–Ottoman rapport, where the factor of religious difference had yet to prove fundamental. All Romanian chroniclers of the 15th–18th centuries saw the Tatars as oppressive forces under the command of the Ottoman sultan; whence the darker representation of the Tatar in comparison to the Ottoman, the latter – according to certain chroniclers – not having always been informed and in agreement with the iniquity of their Tatar subjects.

13 Adina Fodor, *Imaginea tătarilor în cronistica românească a sec.XV–XVIII* (“The image of the Tatars for 15th–18th centuries Romanian chroniclers” (defended at the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca on January 21st, 2014). Sergeant Osman, *Relațiile Hanatului din Crimeea cu Țările Române (1672–1783)* (“Relations between the Crimean Khanate and the Romanian Principalities (1672–1783)”), defended at the Babeş-Bolyai University on September 17th, 2014; Melek Fetisleam, *Mișcarea Națională Tătară din România în perioada interbelică* (“The national Tatar movement in Romania in the interwar period”), defended at the Babeş-Bolyai University on September 25th, 2017.

14 Călin Felezeu, „Imaginea tătarilor în conștiința românească din secolele XV–XIX”, *Moștenirea istorică a Tătarilor*, vol. II, ed. by Tasin Gemil & Nagy Pienaru, Romanian Academy Press, Bucharest 2012, 565–571.

The earliest Romanian mention of the Tatars is found in an anonymous chronicle titled “The Chronicle of Putna”, compiled at the end of the 15th century. These writings are related to the predatory attacks of several bands of Tatars upon Moldavian territory, in 1439 and 1440. Over the following period, such news was frequently recorded by Romanian chroniclers, particularly by those in Moldova. Beginning in the middle of the 16th century, when Ottoman dominance was established over the Romanian principalities, the autochthonous chroniclers accepted their situation as divine punishment, and attempted to make sense of it. From their fatalist viewpoint, both the Turk and the Tatar were seen as frightful weapons of a cruel fate. Romanian–Ottoman relations experienced a sinuous evolution throughout the 17th century, with both regress and progress achieved in the spheres of power and in installing the regime of the Ottoman dominance alike. The chroniclers of the era, themselves influenced by the advent of humanist ideas, reflected the rebirth of their hope for freedom by attenuating previous chroniclers’ fatalism in favour of a more overt anti-Muslim – in effect, anti-Ottoman and anti-Tatar – stance.

At the same time, the chroniclers of the period – Grigore Ureche and Miron Costin in Moldavia, Constantin Cantacuzino and Radu Popescu in Wallachia, and Georg Kraus and Nagy Szabó Ferencz in Transylvania – conveyed more actual information on the Ottomans and Tatars than their predecessors.¹⁵ These chroniclers also offered critical interpretations of the facts and events they recorded. While some of this information was realistic and came from trustworthy sources, the chroniclers of the era did not alter their attitude towards the Tatars. Thus, for instance, the future prince of Transylvania (1661–1662), Ioan Kemény, spent almost two years (1657–1658) as a prisoner among the Tatars in Crimea. In his account, later published as a memoir and chronology, Prince Ioan Kemény, despite being an avowed enemy of the Tatars, recounts the respectable attitude of the Tatar authorities towards him and his men, as well as his surprise when confronted with a knowledge of culture, including of ancient philosophy and universal history, displayed by his Tatar friends

15 Grigore Ureche, *Letopiseșul Țării Moldovei*, ed. by P. P. Panaitescu, 2nd Edition, Bucharest 1958; Miron Costin, *Opere*, ed. by P. P. Panaitescu, Romanian Academy Press, Bucharest 1958; *Istoria Țării Românești 1290/1690. Letopiseșul Cantacuzinesc*, ed. by C. Grecescu & D. Simonescu, Romanian Academy Press, 1960; Radu Popescu, *Istoriile domnilor Țării Românești*, in vol. „Cronicarii munteni”, I, Bucharest 1960; Georg Kraus, *Cronica Transilvaniei 1608–1665*, ed. by Gh. Duzinchevici & E. Reus-Mirza, Romanian Academy Press, Bucharest 1965; Nagy Szabó Ferencz, *Memorialul lui Nagy Szabó Ferencz din Țirgu Mureș (1580–1658)*, ed. by Gabriela Gáll Mihăilescu, Kriterion Press, Bucharest 1993.

and interlocutors.¹⁶ Despite this, the Saxon chronicler Georg Kraus, an inhabitant of Transylvania and a contemporary of Prince Ioan Kemény, would write that the Tatars were the embodiment of evil, entirely lacking in culture and civilization, a nation of perjurers of abominable behaviour. However, the Hungarian chronicler Nagy Szabó Ferencz of Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely) – a contemporary of Georg Kraus of Sighişoara (Schäßburg) – strikes a less subjective tone than Kraus when accusing not only the Tatars and Turks, but also the Hungarians, Romanians and Serbians of „terrible predations”.

The spread of Enlightened ideas throughout the 18th century also occasioned significant changes in the mentality of Romanian historians of the time. Of these, the most representative are Dimitrie Cantemir (1673–1723)¹⁷ and Ion Neculce (1672–1745).¹⁸ The former was obviously more erudite than the latter, being well-connected to both Oriental and Western culture at the same time. Although Cantemir was convinced he was the descendant of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, and thus of Tatar ancestry by blood, he manifested a clearly anti-Muslim, anti-Ottoman and anti-Tatar position through his entire work. Yet we must also stress that Dimitrie Cantemir was the first European historian to present the Ottoman and Tatar phenomena from the inside, in their intimacy and universal connections. Cantemir approaches the Tatar problem, similarly to the Ottoman one, from an enlightened European perspective. According to him, the Ottomans and the Tatars are representatives of a different, Muslim civilization which is opposite and inferior to its European, Christian counterpart. His seminal works, *The History of the Ottoman Empire* and *The System of the Mohammedan Religion* attempted to highlight the discrepancy between the two value systems. Cantemir promoted the Christian-European civilization as clearly superior and in possession of a bright future, in accordance with Tsar Peter I's beliefs, at whose court he was living at the time. Cantemir made a conscious effort to write to the liking and understanding of the European political and intellectual elite, meaning from an anti-Ottoman, anti-Tatar and anti-Muslim position, in the Latin language.

16 Ioan Kemény, *Memorii. Scrierea vieţii sale*, ed. by Ştefan J. Fay, Casa Cărţii de Ştiinţă, Cluj-Napoca 2002; Ştefan J. Fay, *Cronologia lui Ioan Kemény (Căietele unui roman care nu s-a scris)*, Editura Casa Cărţii de Ştiinţă, Cluj-Napoca 2002: 186 “*With the money in his waistband, Kemény could purchase anything except his freedom. Both him and his men were treated with respect... At times, an officer of the Tatar army would stop by, occasionally even a vizier, relishing in the long conversations under the sycamore tree in the courtyard... Other times, the discussions would veer towards Oriental religions or Greek philosophers, and he wondered at the extent of the leadership's grasp of both Aristotle and the writings of the Persian Ibn Sina, called Avicenna in the West*”.

17 Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descrierea Moldovei*, ed. by Gh. Duţu, Romanian Academy Press, Bucharest 1973; *idem, Sistemul sau întocmirea religiei muhammedane*, ed. by Virgil Cândea, Romanian Academy Press, Bucharest 1987; *Demetrii Cantemirii Incrementorum et decrementorum Aulae othomannicae libri tres / Creşterile şi descreşterile Imperiului Otoman*, ed. by Virgil Cândea, Roza Vânturilor Press, Bucharest 1999.

18 Ion Neculce, *Letopiseşul Ţării Moldovei*, ed. by Iorgu Iordan, Minerva Press, Bucharest, 1975.

Ion Neculce's chronicle, titled "The *Letopisetz* (Annals) of the Country of Moldavia" according to the Slavic tradition, covers the history of this Romanian principality between 1661 and 1745. Its most valuable segments encompass the period the author experienced first-hand, particularly in the first half of the 18th century. With regard to our topic of the Tatars, Ion Neculce's chronicle offers more information on them than all other Romanian medieval chronicles. Ion Neculce, as a high dignitary of the Moldavian state (his title was *biv.vel.vornik/byvshij velikij vornik/former High Steward*"), had access to the official state archives – including confidential documents – and knew more information, which confers his work an enhanced authenticity. Unlike the other chroniclers in the Romanian Principalities, Ion Neculce does not treat the Tatars merely as invaders and predators, but also sees in them allies in the fight against other invaders. At the same time, Neculce highlights the assistance the Tatars had given the Moldavians, as neighbours, in times of need. Hence, for instance, when referring to the Moldavian famine of 1684, Ion Neculce writes that "*people brought bread from Transylvania and from the Tatars*", "*and in the second year of the reign, a plethora of convoys of Tatars started to arrive with maize to sell in Iași*".¹⁹ Unfortunately, such passages pass unobserved by the Romanian historians who choose to only write about the Tatar predations of Moldavia. The same Ion Neculce also writes about the pillaging, plunder and massacres done by the Moldavians against the defenceless Tatar women and children in Budjak in 1683, when the local forces were mobilized for the siege of Vienna. The Moldavians – writes Ion Neculce – "*went together with the Cossacks...to Budjak... There, they pillaged and burned everything in Budjak; they would cut open the pregnant Tatar women and impaled the children, releasing the slaves from the yards, and seizing the Tatars' grains, bringing back many spoils, so many one could not count. Because there was no one to oppose them. And so they wandered for a while, burning and ruining the Budjak*".²⁰ This passage has been and continues to systematically be ignored by authors writing or talking about the Tatars!

The advent of Romanticism in the 19th century imprinted strong national accents unto the writings of the Romanian historians of the epoch. The established hostility towards the Ottomans and Tatars and their dark image were now strongly contrasted to the bright, glorified portrayals of national Romanian heroes. Yet at the same time, Romanticism's specific interest in exoticism made the Oriental issue, including any topics related to the Turks and Tatars, quite appealing to both literary writers and historians alike. We cannot, however, indicate a paper worthy of interest for our subject from the period. What was written then about the Turks and Tatars is contradictory, oscillating between rejection and attraction, and grounded on no real basis. The poignantly negative image of the Tatar in Romanian historiography is, in fact, the product of the universal and incessant confrontation between Christianity

¹⁹ Ion Neculce, *op.cit.*, 77.

²⁰ Ion Neculce, *op.cit.*, 70.

and Islam, or more accurately the result of engendered Islamophobia throughout Christian Europe, including in the Romanian Principalities. The Ottomans and Tatars were the only forces of Muslim descent to exist not in the vicinity of Europe, but within Europe itself, which explains the vehemence of the reaction against them.

Remarks on the *Čingiz-nāmā* of Ötämiš Hājjī

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The past few decades witnessed an increased interest in historical works produced in the successor-states of the Golden Horde, an interest to which Mária Ivanics contributed massively by the publication and in-depth analysis of the so-called *Dāftār-i Čingiz-nāmā*, a chronicle compiled in the Upper-Volga region at the turn of the 17th century (Ivanics–Usmanov 2002, Ivanics 2017). The *Dāftār-i Čingiz-nāmā* has an undeniably oral character, a feature shared by many other histories coming from the territory of the former Golden Horde. The Šaybanids, for example, in an attempt to legitimise the reign of their lineage, cultivated a rich historical consciousness which was also deeply rooted in unwritten tradition. Historians in their employment portrayed the earlier history of the Golden Horde based on oral traditions circulating on the steppes on the one hand, while on the other, they narrated events closer to their time according to eye-witness accounts (Mustakhimov 2014: 10–11). The so-called *Čingiz-nāmā* ‘Book of Genghis khan’ of Ötämiš Hājjī is one of the earliest of such histories of the Golden Horde, written in the Turkic literary language of Central Asia (also called Chaghatay or Tūrkī). Although Bartol’d introduced this historical work to scholarship early in the 20th century (Bartol’d 1973: 164–169), other scholars – with a few exceptions – avoided its use for a long time because of its oral character. However, it gained considerable attention in these past decades. In order to pay my humble homage to the scholarly and teaching merits of Mária Ivanics, I shall summarise our present knowledge regarding the life of Ötämiš Hājjī and his historical work on the one hand, and add further remarks concerning the relationship of the two extant manuscripts of the work, as well as the possible date when the chronicler compiled his history, on the other.

Very little has come down to us regarding the life of the author, Ötämiš Hājjī, the majority of which has been preserved in his chronicle, the *Čingiz-nāmā*. The honorific title of his father, Muḥammad Dōstī, *mawlānā* ‘our lord’ – generally used to designate leading members of Muslim religious institutions – indicates that he must have come from a family of learned background. His forefathers served at the courts of the descendants of the Šaybanid Yādigār khan (died 1469) and Ötämiš Hājjī kept up this family-tradition. He saw service at the court of Ilbars I. khan bin Būrākā of the Khanate of Khiva (r. 1511–1518) (ÖH/Yudin 1992: 119; ÖH/Kawa-

guchi–Nagamine 2008: 6, 66),¹ who gained prominence by expelling the encroaching Şafawīd forces from Khwarezm.² Based on this piece of information Kafalı assumes that the author must have been born in the 1490s (ÖH/Kafalı 2009: 21).

Sources offer only a limited insight to the life of our author after the death of Ilbars khan. Introducing one of his informants, he writes the following: “The man called Hītay Baba ‘Alī was the *uluġbeg* and *nā’ib* of ‘Abdu l-Karīm khan of Astrakhan.³ After the death of the said khan he made the pilgrimage to Mecca and became a hajji. (Then) he entered the service of sultan Ġāzī Sultān. His majesty, the sultan adored tales of old (*qarī söz*) and asked [the following] from him: They say that Toqtamış khan left the threshold of Urus khan. How did that happen? The above-mentioned hajji told the story in this fashion, [I] the worthless heard it from him.” (ÖH/Yudin et al. 1992: 114; ÖH/Kawaguchi–Nagamine 2008: 39–40; 95). Sultan Ġāzī Sultān was the first born son of Ilbars I. khan. Although he rejected the title of khan, he became the *de facto* ruler of the khanate after his father’s death (1518) and governed from the city of Vazir (today in Uzbekistan) (‘Abu l-Ġāzī/Desmaisons 1970²: 202). Taking into consideration that ‘Abdu l-Karīm khan of Astrakhan died around the year 1517 (Zajcev 2006²: 66) and that the above-mentioned Hītay Baba ‘Alī needed several months to visit Mecca and return to the steppes, we may assume he entered the service of sultan Ġāzī Sultān around the year 1518 or soon after. Since Ötämiş Hājji remarks that he heard the story of Toqtamış’s flight from the hajji himself (*eşitip turur-män*), it is safe to assume that he continued his service to Ilbars khan’s son at the most influential court of the region. We do not know how long this service lasted or what his duties were. However, we know that sultan Ġāzī Sultān and his sons became victims of a blood-feud, which in the long run triggered an invasion of the forces of the Khanate of Bukhara headed by ‘Ubaydullāh khan (1513–1539) in 1539/1540 (Materiali/Ibragimov et al. 1969: 441–442, Munis–Agahi/Bregel 1999: 31–32).

The only well-grounded information we have on Ötämiş Hājji from these decades is that that he occupied himself with gathering tales of old (*qarī söz*) about the rulers of the Golden Horde and he became renowned. His expertise in history and the rising interest in history-writing among the Şaybanid potentates provided him a new patron when a certain Iş Sultān summoned him to his court and eventually commissioned him to compile his collection of unwritten histories into a chronicle (ÖH/Yudin et al. 1992: 90–91, ÖH/Kawaguchi–Nagamine 2008: 7, 67). Scholarship suggests the new employer of our author was Iş Muḥammed Sultān bin Buġuġa khan (r. cc. 1525–1530), younger brother of Dōst Muḥammad (Bartol’d

1 Kafalı misread the term *bändäzādälär* ‘sons of servants’ as *bändä-i väzirläri* ‘slave of viziers’ made the claim that Ötämiş Hājji, as well as his forefather, rose to the rank of viziers (2009: 20–21).

2 For a short overview of the events consult Sultanov 2006: 311–313, Bregel 2012.

3 For an attempt to clarify the position of a *nā’ib* in the Khanate of Astrakhan, see Zajtsev 2006²: 67–68.

1973: 166, DeWeese 1994: 148). According to ‘Abu l-Ġāzī Bahadur khan the brothers used to govern the city of Kāt (today Beruniy, Uzbekistan) during and after the reign of their father, until Dōst Muḥammad ascended to the throne of the Khanate of Khiva in 1556. After this date sultan Iṣ Muḥammad remained in the possession of Kāt. However, he contested other members of the ‘Arabšāhid dynasty for the city of Ūrgenč (today Konye-Urganch, Turkmenistan), which resulted in a bloody dynastic feud and eventually in the death of both brothers. ‘Abu l-Ġāzī dates these events on the year 965 of the hegira, i.e. 24. October 1557–14. October 1558 (‘Abu l-Ġāzī/Desmaisons 1970²: 234–236, Munis–Agahi/Bregel 1999: 31, 34–35).

After the events described above Ötämiš Ḥājjī disappears completely from our view. There is only a vague mention of a certain *ḥājjū l-ḥaramayn šerī‘at-ši‘ār Ötämiš Ḥājjī* ‘the pilgrim of the two holy cities, the follower of the sharia, Ötämiš Ḥājjī’ in the ‘*Abdullāh-nāma* of Ḥāfiẓ Tanīš Buḥārī,⁴ whom Togan and Kafalı – with good reason – identify with our author (Togan 1981²: 148, Kafalı 2009: 22). If their view stands to reason, ‘Abdullāh khan of Bukhara (1583–1598) visited and sought council from our chronicler in the year 1583, just after his ascension to power. Following this event, sources grow completely silent on Ötämiš Ḥājjī.

A further moment in Ötämiš Ḥājjī’s life that one may infer relates to his pilgrimage to Mecca. We can fully agree with Kafalı who connects the authors knowledge of Golden Horde geography, particularly the lower Volga region, to his voyage to the holy cities of Arabia (ÖH/Kafalı 2009: 22–23). Pilgrims from Central Asia – instead of journeying through Iran – traversed the steppes west or north-west through the cities of Sarayçiq, Astrakhan to the Crimean ports, where they continued their journey on ship to the Levant and eventually further to the Arabian Peninsula (Trepavolv 2009: 92–93). Ötämiš Ḥājjī must have taken this same road. This becomes clear from sporadic remarks and descriptions of some of the locations he mentions (ÖH/Kafalı 2009: 21–22). For example, when describing the confluence of the Volga and the Caspian Sea, he nonchalantly notes that he saw it personally (ÖH/Yudin et al. 1992: 98, ÖH/Kawaguchi–Nagamine 2008: 17, 75, 120, ÖH/Kafalı 2009: 120, ÖH/Mirgaleev 2017: 265). What is particularly important in regard to this journey, is that he had the opportunity to gather new material and information. His description of the Mongol conquest of the town *Qırq yer* (today Chufut-kale on the Crimean Peninsula) is informative of his activities. According to the tradition he penned in his chronicle, when laying siege to the fortress, Šiban, son of Joči had his men distract the defenders on the one hand, and had a road carved into the rocks of the fortress, on the other. These efforts contributed to the Mongols managing to storm the fortress. Ötämiš Ḥājjī did not see the road himself, so he interviewed travellers who attested that it still existed in the 16th century (ÖH/Yudin et al. 1992: 95, ÖH/Kawaguchi–Nagamine 2008: 14, 73, 118, ÖH/Mirgaleev 2017: 32–33). This small piece of information enables us to acquire some insight into our authors working-method.

4 On the author and the ‘*Abdu l-lāh-nāma* see Materialy/Ibragimov 1969: 237–245.

As was already mentioned, Ötämīš Hājjī became renowned for his knowledge of “tales of old” (*qarī söz*), meaning oral historical traditions circulating on the steppes. Although he admits to have used written sources – “the chronicles of Dōst Sultān” and the “*Zafar-nāma* of Tīmūr beg” (supposedly the chronicle of Šāmī or ‘Alī Yazdī under the same title) – he claims to have penned stories “found in neither book nor chronicle” (ÖH/Kawaguchi – Nagamine 2008: 6–8, 66–67). Thus, his chronicle is a unique collection of genuine oral tradition (Bartol’d 1973: 166, DeWeese 1994: 148), which came down to us in two extant manuscripts.

The first manuscript of the *Čingiz-nāmā* is preserved in Tashkent, at the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan (No. 1552/V fol. 36r–59r) – hence I shall refer to it as the “Tashkent manuscript”. It comprises a part of a colligate codex and includes a total of 23 folios. It is important to stress that the text starts with the praise of God and the prophet, Muḥammad, as is usual in Muslim historiography, and continues with details on the author and the circumstances of the chronicle’s compilation. Then the text continues portraying the partition of the *Yeke Mongol Ulus* and proceeds to depict the khans of the Golden Horde. However, the text abruptly breaks off at the story of Toqtamīš khan. Bearing in mind that the chronicle is a part of a colligate, it is safe to assume that it is a copy of the author’s version which, unfortunately, lacks any indications regarding the date of the copy. The best editions of this manuscript is that of Yudin and his colleagues (1992, transcription according to Kazakh vocalisation, Russian translation, commentaries and facsimile) and of Kawaguchi and Nagamine (2008, text in the Arabic script, transcription in the Latin script and a Japanese translation).

The second manuscript originates from Orenburg, Russia. A local reader of the Tatar periodical, the *Šura*, sent it to its editor, Rizaeddin Fakhruddin in the initial years of 1910s. He, in turn, passed it on to Ahmed Zeki Velidi Togan, émigré historian in Istanbul, where it became a part of his personal library. It still remains there, thus I shall refer to it as the “Istanbul manuscript” (Togan 1985⁴: 224, Mirgaleev 2011: 14, ÖH/Mirgaleev 2017: 9–10). The codex comprises 77 folios total and bears the title *Qara tawārīḥ* ‘Black History’, a title thought to be given to the manuscript by a later copyist (ÖH/Kafalı 2009: 27). The text lacks the introduction, instead starts with a brief history of Genghis khan, after which it follows the text of the Tashkent manuscript with negligible alterations. What is important is that the Istanbul manuscript preserved the full text of the *Čingiz-nāmā*, depicting the events on the steppes to the 15th century. Furthermore, this manuscript contains a continuation by an unknown person, namely a brief description of the descendants of the Siberian khan Küčüm (r. 1563–1598) (ÖH/Kafalı 2009: 154–156, ÖH/Mirgaleev 2017: 160–164). Belyakov devoted a detailed article to this continuation and rightly stressed that it has been compiled – most likely – between the 1660s and 1680s, a century after our author’s death (Belyakov 2018). The text of the Istanbul manuscript has been published by Kafalı (2009, transcription in the Latin script) and recently by Mirgaleev (2017, transcription according to Tatar vocalisation, Russian translation, facsimile).

Unlike the Tashkent manuscript the one in Istanbul is dated. However, this dating causes some confusion. The last lines of the continuation run as follows: *qad waqa'a l-firāḡ min ḥāzihi l-awrāq fī yavmī čaharšamba fī šahri Muḥarram sannati [---] bāraka llāh tamma tāriḥ-i [...]*, i. e. "This manuscript was finished on Wednesday, in the month of Maḥarram, in the year of [...]. May God praise it! Finished. In the year of [...]" (ÖH/Kafalı 2009: 156, ÖH/Mirgaleev 2017: 160). As one can remark, the manuscript has not one, but two dates. I only had the chance to consult the facsimile of the manuscript provided in the edition of Mirgaleev, where the first date is blurred and illegible. However, both Kafalı and Mirgaleev read the date as 959 (ÖH/Kafalı 2009: 156, ÖH/Mirgaleev 2017: 160), this would correspond to the 30th of December 1551, 6th, 13th, 20th and 27th of January 1552. This could – in theory – correspond to the date that Ötämiš Ḥājjī finished his chronicle, but since this date is located on the end of the continuation and its reading is problematic, it cannot be determined with certainty. Concerning the second date, Kafalı and Mirgaleev both read it as 1040 (ÖH/Kafalı 2009: 156, ÖH/Mirgaleev 2017: 160), i.e. 10. August 1630 to 29. July 1631. Both readings raise problems. First, the date comprises of five numbers. Second, the events depicted in the continuation took place – as was already pointed out – in the second half of the 17th century (Belyakov 2018), many decades after the hypothetical date of copying. In any case this topic requires further investigation.

There is a small remark in the Istanbul manuscript, which deserves further discussion. Ötämiš Ḥājjī writes: "The wish of this poor [soul – meaning the author; Cs. G.] is to write down this manuscript for a second time. Now, I am starting for the second time." (ÖH/Kafalı 2009: 136; ÖH/Mirgaleev 2017: 216). This remark makes it clear that the author made two versions of the *Čingiz-nāmā* and that the Istanbul manuscript preserved the second version. Based on structural dissimilarities of the two extant manuscripts we may formulate a hypothesis. The Tashkent manuscript begins – as was already mentioned – with the praise of God and Muḥammad, followed by a brief introduction. Then it continues without any abruptness in the text with the partition of the Mongol Empire. At the same time the Istanbul manuscript, evidently the second version, lacks the praise and the introduction. Instead it begins with the history of Genghis khan, after which the text follows the same course as the Tashkent manuscript with minor differences in the wording. Having this in view, I suppose that Ötämiš Ḥājjī finished his first version without the history of Genghis khan, as is seen in the Tashkent manuscript, and made the addition when drafting his second version represented by the Istanbul manuscript.

Tashkent manuscript	Istanbul manuscript – second version!
Introduction: praise of God and the Prophet	None
Information on the author and on the reason of the chronicles compilation	Non
None	Abridged history of Genghis khan
Text – breaks abruptly	Text – complete
–	Continuation

Table 2. Structural differences and similarities of the extant manuscripts

When dating the *Čingiz-nāmā*, scholars usually give a wider timespan. Akhmedov supposes the first half of the 16th century (ÖH/Yudin et al. 1992: 5), whereas Kawaguchi and Nagamine claim that Ötämiš Hājjī must have penned his chronicle in the decades between the death of Ilbars khan (cc. 1518) and Dōst Muḥammad khan (cc. 1558) (Kavaguchi–Nagamine 2010: 48). One must keep in mind that they only had access to the Tashkent manuscript of the chronicle which, unfortunately, gives no indication of the date of the work or the time of the copying. Other researchers give a narrower timespan of the 1550s (Togan 1985⁴: 148, DeWeese 1994: 144, ÖH/Kafalı 2009: 27). A thorough reading of the Istanbul manuscript, however, offers a number of clues to designate a *terminus post* and *ante quem*. When narrating the events of Uluḡ Muḥammad khan’s reign, Ötämiš Hājjī alludes to “Aq Kōbek khan, who is khan in Astrakhan” (ÖH/Kafalı 2009: 152, ÖH/Mirgaleev 2017: 169). The author’s use of the aorist (*hān turur*) indicates a present tense. Though, it might be ambiguous, it still offers us the possibility to narrow down the dates we have to operate with. Aided by his Cherkes allies, the above-mentioned khan came to power for the first time in 1532, but he was forced to flee on the following year. He took the throne for a second time a decade later, in 1545 and governed the khanate for a year or two, only to be expelled for a second time (Trepavlov 2002: 219–221, Zajcev 2006: 115). A careful reading of the of the Šaybanid genealogy provides us with further clues to operate with. When listing the offspring of Yādīgār khan (died 1469), Ötämiš Hājjī writes as follows: “hān-i mārḥūm Bujuḡa hān wā Šōfyā[n] hān wā ḥazrat-i Āvānāš hān wā ḥazrat-i Qal⁵ hān

5 The correct reading of this name is uncertain. Both Kafalı and Mirgaleev read it as *Qahil hān*. The letter *qāf* and *lām* are clearly legible and this makes it evident that the name refers to the ruler called Qal hān, mentioned in the *Šāḡārā-i türk* of Abu l-Ġāzī (Abu l-Ġāzī/Desmaisons 1970²: 229) and in the *Firdawsu l-iqbāl* of Münīs and Āḡāhī (Munis – Agahi/Bregel 1999: 33–34), as well as Šafāwīd sources.

ḥallada mulkahu” (ÖH/Kafalı 2009: 138, ÖH/Mirgaleev 2017: 210). As one may notice, Ötämiš Hājjī uses the Arabic *marḥūm* ‘the late, the deceased’ with Bujuḡa khan and the Arabic phrase *ḥallada mulkahu* ‘may his reign last forever’ with the name of Qal khan, implicating he was the currently ruling khan.⁶ The *Firdawsu l-iqbāl* of Mūnīs and Āgāhī – a rather late source – dates the death of Bujuḡa khan on the year of 932 of the hegira, i.e. 1525/1526 (Munis – Agahi/Bregel 1999: 31). However, Yuri Bregel remarks that Şafawīd sources date the same event to A. H. 935, i.e. A. D. 1529/1530 (Munis – Agahi/Bregel 1999: 553. note 162). Be it as it may, the *terminus post quem* is the end of the 1520s. Moving on to the next clue, Abu l-Ġāzī and the *Firdawsu l-iqbāl* state that Qal khan came to power after the forces of Bukhara invaded Khiva in 1539/1540 and ruled for nine years, i.e. until 1548/49 (Munis – Agahi/Bregel 1999: 34). That is our *terminus ante quem*. All in all, the timespan we may operate with is cc. 1530–1549. It would be tempting to pair the reign of Qal khan with the corresponding reign of Aq Köbek khan, and thus reckoning that Ötämiš Hājjī penned his work in in the years around 1545–1547. However, as it was already mentioned, this may be ambiguous. What is more, this was calculated based on the Istanbul manuscript, the second version! This means Ötämiš Hājjī must have written the first version somewhat earlier than scholars calculated previously, somewhere during the 1530s or 1540s.

As was already mentioned, the *Ĉingiz-nāmā* preserved genuine oral traditions, offering a unique insight into the historical consciousness of the population of the Golden Horde, uninfluenced by outside sources such as Russian, Persian, Arabic etc. When approached with the right methods, this offers a range of research topics and results as it is shown by the excellent monography of DeWeese (1994). However, there is a further characteristic of the *Ĉingiz-nāmā* one may highlight. Since Ötämiš Hājjī drafted his work on the commission of an ‘Arabšāhid member of the Šaybanid branch, it is no surprise he attempted to draw from traditions strengthening the legitimacy of his patrons and he went to great lengths to achieve it. This attempt includes exaggerating the merits of the ancestor of the dynasty, belittling other branches of the Jočids⁷ and even falsifying some events. For example, according to his description, the *nökers* of Ejän – i.e. Orda, the eldest son of Joči – rose up against their lord and eventually killed him and his offspring shortly after the subjugation of Eastern-Europe (ÖH/Yudin et al. 1992: 94, ÖH/Kawaguchi – Nagamine 2008: 12, 71, ÖH/Kafalı 2009: 117, ÖH/Mirgaleev 2017: 274). This story

⁶ This piece of evidence was noticed by Kafalı who – without providing any reference – dates the end of Qal khans reign to 1551/1552 (ÖH/Kafalı 2009: 27).

⁷ For an example Ötämiš Hājjī vividly portrays how the offspring of Toqa Temür, thirteenth son of Joči, another branch of the Jočids contesting for power with the Šaybanids, carried bricks on their back on the order of Tengiz Buḡa, an influential *beg* in the left wing of the Golden Horde (died in the middle of the 14th century), or how the above-mentioned *beg* humiliated them by having them kneel down and take of their hats outside his tent during festivities (ÖH/Yudin et al. 1992: 109–110, ÖH/Kawaguchi-Nagamine 2008: 88–89, 33–34, ÖH/Kafalı 2009: 128–129, ÖH/Mirgaleev 2017: 238–239).

is, of course, is not true. Owing to Rašīd al-dīn, we are able to keep track of Orda's successors for another century or so (Allsen 1985 [1987]). Stories such as these served to underline the legitimacy of Šaybanid overlordship, and therefore one must approach chapters regarding this lineage with a grain of salt. Regardless of this, the *Čingiz-nāmā*, as the second oldest historical work of the later Golden Horde in Turkic, merits further research. Moreover, a critical edition of the chronicle would be desirable, since it could easily provide us with new information on the history of the manuscripts, as well as the date of their compilation.

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Imagined Turks: The Tatar as the Other in Halide Edip's Novels

Funda Güven

Introduction

“Tatar” and “Turk” have both been controversial terms in world literature. Western literature has referred to Mongols as “Tatars,” while Russians have used the term “Tatar” for their Turkic subjects. The name “Turk,” also, has been used by Westerners for all Muslims living in Europe. Both terms have had an insulting meaning since they were used to define the “other” group or nation. When ethnic nationalism launched in the late Ottoman period, ideologists had long discussions on the name of a new nation. They decided to call it Turk, but they did not know how to define who the “Turk” was. Halide Edip got actively involved in discussions starting from 1911. Having been brought up in a cosmopolitan family setting, and having a liberal education, she welcomed all groups while she used “Turk” as an umbrella term to depict the characters in her novels. However, she needed an ethnic group to focus on since new nationalism was seeking its primordial ties within an ethnic Turkic community. She became acquainted with the Tatar community who came to Istanbul for education and settled there, as well as the Tatar community living in Anatolia, during her service to the Turkish army and the inspection after the War of Independence as well. She did not hide her admiration for modest, educated, and caring Tatar women. To uproot the negative image of Tatars and create a role model for Turkish women, she used the image of Tatar women in her two novels. This article explores Halide Edip's novels *New Turan* and *Tatarcık*, in which both protagonists are Tatar women.

Background

Halide Edip Adivar (1882–1964), one of the pillars of Turkish nationalism, contributed to the nationalist movement's becoming a populist movement based on ethnicity and language. Halide Edip had Islamic and Western education and grew up in an intellectual surrounding in Istanbul. She attended an American all-girls boarding school, which gave her a better understanding of Western culture, while her extended family lived in all-Turkish culture. She was involved in politics when

Turkish nationalism was moving between the first and second generations of nationalists in the late Ottoman period. The ideology of the first nationalists of the Ottoman period, based on *patria*, was “liberal and human,” which was a reactionary movement against the monarchy (Adivar 1930: 86). The first generation, who were called Young Ottomans and Young Turks, was constructivist, bringing new ideas such as liberty, the constitution, and the fatherland into political and cultural discourse. They presented an Ottoman-Islamist identity while focusing on establishing a modern democratic state based on the separation of powers. They were able to force the Sultan to declare constitutional monarchy and initiate democracy in the Ottoman Empire. However, because of the domestic impetus and conjectural developments out of borders, the Sultan abolished the parliament and returned to monarchy. Ultimately, the Sultan could not prevent another wave coming from members of the army and a new generation of intellectuals. The military forced the Sultan to open the parliament and held elections again in 1908. This time intellectuals who lived in the Empire joined a pro-nationalist, pro-Turkish movement, which was not imported from abroad but developed inside the Empire.

Halide made her home a meeting point for those nationalist intellectuals, who attended to discuss politics, literature, and history. Ahmet Ağaoğlu appreciated her for challenging segregation between sexes among upper-class elites in Istanbul and opening her house to male intellectuals (Ağaoğlu 1959). Because her first husband served in UPP (Union and Progress Party), and her second husband took an active role in the nationalist Turkism movement and the establishment of *Turkish Hearts*, Halide found herself in the second wave of nationalism, which gradually hinged on language and ethnicity. While the first wave had been based on the adoption of new ideas coming from the West, the intellectuals of the second wave looked for “local and national” ideas rooted in the culture that they dwelled in, language as an amalgam of Turkish nationalism, instead of ideas of liberty, constitution, and fatherland. Halide Edip found any political nationalism ugly since it made men destroy each other. Yet, she justified that Turkish nationalism was different from the Western case since Western Powers supported each other, but Turks were all alone for their survival (Adivar 1930: 82).

While the intellectuals of the first wave aimed to change the political culture, the second wave aimed to bring culture to politics. The second wave was focused on tangible straits of culture, such as religion, language, ethnicity, and custom. Halide Edip, Ziya Gökalp, Ömer Seyfettin, Fuat Köprülü, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, and Yusuf Akçura were the intellectuals of the second wave, who aimed to bring a change by using faculties of society to create a popular nationalist movement from bottom to top. For this reason, they needed to examine the Turkish nation to find what they wanted to see in her cultural codes. Reforming language was one of them, but not enough: they needed a united society to use this standardized vernacular language. The second wave, also, did not focus on geography or fatherland at the beginning,

but the human capital of their nationalistic ideology, because they did not know where to end their nation.¹

Theory

Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm elucidated that nation-states are the product of imaginations. Anderson argued that “the nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations” (Anderson 2006: 7). When all is said, the pioneers of Turkish nationalism looked for a framework which made Turkish nationalism essentialist. The roots of Turkish nationalism started with imagining *patria* and a nation. It was the most democratic starting point, but they were not able to create a grassroots movement since the geography that they addressed was vast, and the population was cosmopolitan. Their ideal nation was obscure, and they could not reach ordinary people, only Ottoman elites. This first occurrence of nationalism went hand in hand with Islamism. In this sense, their ideology stood on essentialism. A Crimean Tatar, Ismail Gaspirali, led a parallel attempt which overlapped with the last years of Young Ottomans, who tried to form national consciousness of a vernacularly imagined Turkic community. His reductionist view was also essentialist, since it was based on communication in a common Turkic language, and grounded in the ethnicities of Turkic societies, as well as a liberal model of Islam. At the same time, his imagination, which did not go beyond an imagined liberated Muslim society from Russians, was survivalist—those two romantic movements abided by another essentialist nationalist movement of Young Turks, who imagined an absolute nation. The Young Turks who, thrilled by German nationalism, instilled ethnicity and language in their ideology. Ideologies of those three nationalist movements do not have a geographical limit and definition of the values’ democratic principles, but a tangible, particular Turkish nation. Halide Edip engaged in the third group when she wrote her novel, *New Turan*, in 1912 and had already parted with all of them when she wrote *Tatarcık* in 1938.

1 However, Hülya Argunsah categorizes Halide Edip with Yakup Kadri and Yahya Kemal, not with Ziya Gökalp, Ömer Seyfettin, or Hamdululah Suphi under the title of National Literature. She argues that Yahya Kemal’s ideas of land-based nationalism conformed to the philosophy of national movement in Anatolia. This categorization was based on themes of their writings, since three of them wrote about defeating Greeks from Anatolia (Argunsah 2005: 211).

Behind the Turkish Identity: Gökalp and Akçura

Ziya Gökalp, ideologist of UPP, had written his book *Becoming Turk, Islamic, and Civilized* in 1918, in which he sought to show how to construct a nation by the will of people based on cultural relativism (Gökalp 2014: 2/12). In his book, he argued that the Islamic nation has its own space where Turks belong. On the other hand, he defined a space, “Turan,” for the new establishment of the nation under the influence of Gaspirinski. His idea of “Turan,” an imagined community, is formed by only the Turkic society, including all Turkic places (Gökalp 2014: 4/39). Following up Gaspirinski’s Turanism Gökalp mentored and relied on two authors to disseminate his ideas in a simplified form, using literature. One of them, Ömer Seyfettin, was at the forefront of Turkifying the language, while Halide Edip’s sharp and brave pen was fighting to form an ethnic component of the new Turkish identity. The friendship of Ziya Gökalp and Halide Edip went back to the *Turkish Hearts*, founded in 1911, where they discussed the bases of Turkish nationalism and propagated their ideas. The spirit of the imagined Turkic community, which was named “Turanism” by Ziya Gökalp, yielded to a Turkism whose principles he wrote in 1923. He described Turkism as a hegemonic ideology which had a land and people to govern. Halide Edip mentioned in her memoirs that she wrote her novel, *New Turan*, under the influence of her friend Ziya Gökalp before they parted ways in 1915, after they had different ideas on education and politics. In the meantime, their populist character of Turkish nationalism was shaped in the hands of another intellectual whom Halide Edip worked with, Yusuf Akçura.²

Halide Edip did not write much about Yusuf Akçura, a Kazan Tatar, although she worked with him closely at *Turkish Hearts*, and her late husband Adnan Adıvar was one of the founders of National Turk Party with Akçura. His ideology rested solely on a secular Turkish identity, based on ethnicity, eliminating Islamic values in the new formation of the nation. Despite Akçura and Halide Edip’s husband’s close ideological fellowship, she insisted on the liberal values of Anglo-Saxons, in which religion finds a place in citizens’ lives. Akçura’s secular ideology, which excluded Islam, conflicted with Halide’s sympathy for folk Islam and Mevlevi culture. Under the influence of her grandmother and her Mevlevi circle, she drew attention to the Mevlevi order as representing Islam in the culture of Turkish people. The second conflict was on multiculturalism. Yusuf Akçura did not tolerate multiculturalism in Ottoman land but exalted suppressing Turkish culture. When they met in the *Turkish Hearts*, they had heated discussions on performing Anatolian ethnic music. Akçura lost against Halide and Fuad Köprülü, both of whom defended that Turkish culture must include other cultures of people living in Anatolia, even if they belonged to different ethnic groups. The third conflict between Akçura and Halide was about the

² At the convention of Turkish Hearts, represent of Izmir argues that Halide Edip is not a Turkist. Her friend Hamdullah Suphi stands up to him and advocates Halide Edip because of her international reputation (Üstel 2004: 158).

federation. As we will see in her novel *New Turan*, Halide was for a federation; however, her fellow nationalist ideologists Akçura did not support this idea. In her utopian novel, *New Turan*'s new ideology lies in the Mevlevi culture of Islamic Sufism and the protagonist's defense of federalism.

First, five or six Mevlevi dervishes arrived on the stage with flutes, *ney*, in their hands. Right behind them, ten or twelve children in Mevlevi dervish dresses stood in a row. New Turan's inspiration in architecture and music was always going as far back as the period of *Selcukis*. In addition to this, after many years of influence and penetration of Western culture, I do not know; one of the songs, hymns, or dramas of new musicians with these thin enigmatic Sufi elements was bringing the soul and voice of wild, rascal, sturdy, and brave Turko-Tatars (Adivar 2014: 28).

New Turan: Tatar Cousins Lead the New Party

In her memoirs, Halide Edip mentions that she wrote the novel *New Turan* under the influence of Ziya Gökalp's ideas. The novel was published in a newspaper in 1912 and as a book in 1913. She must have written the novel while she was visiting her father in Greece. The genre is a utopian novel in which pro-Turkish nationalists were dreaming of a country following their ideology (Balci 2020: 10).

Moreover, she wrote a play from the novel and participated in it in 1913–1914. However, Major Cemal Pasha banned them from staging the play, since they objected to Muslim women acting on stage (Üstel 2004: 68). A female protagonist, a half-Tatar Turkish girl *Kaya* is the crucial person between two political groups competing with each other to form the government. The pre-bourgeois ruling class of New Ottomans and their constituent Islamists are personified by *Hamdi Pasha* and his nephew *Asım*, a journalist of New Ottomans. The first-person narrator, *Asım*, narrates the ideas of two camps depicted in a romantic love story between two cousins, protagonist *Kaya* and *Oğuz*. The confessional narration reveals the truth that the narrator witnessed, but did not dare to intervene, in the life of his uncle, who is also an influential political figure and the leader of the New Ottoman Party. The nephew of *Hamdi Pasha* represents the change and calls reader's attention for mass transformation from "Ottomanism" to "Oğuzism." The reader gets engaged in the arc and roots to change with the narrator's change during the development of the plot. The tone of the narrative is mostly sad and somber. The narrator witnesses that his villain uncle forced *Kaya* to get married for two reasons. First, he loved *Kaya* when she was very young, and the second, he spies the opposite party called "New Turan" and wants to end the popularity of the party's activities, organized by *Kaya* and the leader *Oğuz*.

On the other hand, *Oğuz*, coming from the Tatar community in Yıldırım in Bursa, was brought up by a strong, literate, religious Tatar mother. His widow mother sends him to school and provides for him by working very hard. The narrator highlights how this Tatar family especially values the education of girls. His mother opens a small school for girls, which *Oğuz* also attends. *Oğuz*, a charismatic and progressive character of the novel, receives his first religious education from his mother and later goes to mosques nearby. The narrator emphasizes that his strong religious foundation drives him to respect women.

The main difference of the two men, *Hamdi Pasha* and *Oğuz*, and the ideology of New Ottomans Party and New Turan Party, is that progressive *Oğuz* defends the necessity of women's education and participation in social and economic life, as well as federalism as a political system, whereas conservative *Hamdi Pasha* oppresses women and is for a unitarian state. The role of the first-person narrator in the novel becomes clearer when the climax approaches. The narrator carries the message with the two main characters to convince the reader for federalism. Formation of a modern nation-state goes hand in hand with building a nation living on a land. Halide Edip highlights and justifies a federation between Kurds and Arabs. The narrator gives a direct message to the reader that local people support federalism in some regions where they have started federal governance (Adivar 2014:108).

Representing confusion between what Kaya defends and his party expects, the villain *Hamdi Pasha* does not show strong leadership. This old-school bureaucrat prepares the tragedy of the protagonist and her love *Oğuz*. Yet, the narrator's confession gives the reader hope for the future of New Turan while feeling repugnance for the New Ottoman Party. By giving the name "*Oğuz*" to a Kipchak or a Tatar character *and* creating a romantic idealist who dies for his ideas, the author confirms essentialist nationalism where she answers the question of who a Turk is.³ Given names as symbols or given identities show primordial ties between individuals and the hegemonic ideology (Smith:1986). Those brand-new Turk characters of the novel, essentially Tatars and or Ottomans mixed with Tatars, carry Turkish names. *Kaya* abandons her Arabic name, *Samiye*, to go back to use her given name, *Kaya*, which is still in the memory of her aunt and cousin (Adivar 2014: 127–128). Villain *Hamdi Pasha* does not sympathize with the protagonist's Tatar identity. He insists that her name is *Samiye*, but the protagonist prefers *Kaya* as her both primarily given and later chosen name. The repentant narrator says, "We have a lot of odd New Turan women, whose names are coming from stone, rock, sky, moon overall from the science of space and spheres of the Earth," when he goes to the New Turan Party's meeting in the setting of the novel (Adivar 2014: 22).

3 Giving Turkic names became famous as a project of Turkism. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk supported the idea giving names such as *Oğuz*, *Kaan*, *Mete* in the first years of the Republic. Duman, Derya <https://www.haberturk.com/yasam/haber/1212411-docent-dr-derya-duman-haberturke-anlatti>

The narrator brings the underlying “otherness” of Tatars from Ottoman identity and shows the reader how the word “Tatar” is used as an ethnic slur. When *Hamdi Pasha* was not able to convince Katya to sleep with him after a fight over carrying Ottoman or a Turkish identity, he says “*Kaya behaves like a Tatar tonight*”⁴ (Adivar 2014: 104). *Hamdi Pasha* addresses the protagonist by her name *Kaya*, and when he uses her previous Arabic name, *Kaya* corrects him. Yet, he always emphasizes her Turkish identity: “You are the bravest Turkish person among the Turks who I have known” (71), “You, strong Turkish girl!”⁵ (Adivar 2014: 116).

Protagonist *Kaya* and *Oğuz*, two burgeoning leaders of New Turan Party drink *kımız*, a fermented mare’s milk in Eurasia. When *Kaya* gets sick, she refuses to drink *ayran*, a drink made of yoghurt, and insists upon drinking *kımız* instead. New Ottoman *Hamdi Pasha* buys *kımız* from Turan restaurants and brings two bottles of *kımız* for *Kaya* from work every night. Opposition party newspaper learns it and writes that *Hamdi Pasha* finally remembered that “he was a Turk” (Adivar 2014: 78). When *Oğuz* was shot and wounded, he also asks to drink *kımız* to recover. Beside their ideology and blood ties, cultural products of Tatars bring them together even if they are apart. It is clear that members of this new imagined community live in the Ottoman Empire and are connected to Tatars who are well educated and active in politics.

The author relies on the image of Tatar women in the novel, *New Turan*, for two reasons. First, this revolutionist nationalist movement needed a middle class who could carry the new ideas, since old elites of Ottoman Empire were not eager to change the status quo. The protagonist’s father cuts his ties with old Ottomans and abandons his old circle and house before he dies. Orphan *Kaya* gets a good education and serves her community and becomes politically active. *Oğuz* changes his middle-class status by getting a good education and becoming politically active. The reader gets a message that two Tatar women together support *Oğuz*’s political agenda and Turkist ideology.

Motherhood in the novel is sublimated and only serves for ideology. *Oğuz*’s mother, like the Virgin Mary, raises her son by herself. On the other hand, *Kaya*, does not conceive a baby in four years of marriage with *Hamdi Pasha*. The author refrains to represent a synthesis of two ideologies. In other words, although it is a constructivist ideology which invent a nation with its symbols, new Turkism has its pride coming from its essence. This ideology presents soldier-like women: women members of the “New Turan Party” sometimes wear black and sometimes gray robes cover their heads with white headscarves and wear thick modest shoes, reminiscent of Turko-Tatars.⁶ Women of this ideology sacrifice their body in the sake of the future of their ideology (Adivar 2014: 19).

⁴ “*Kaya’nın bu gece Tatar damarı tuttu!*”

⁵ “*Seni çetin Türk kızı!*”

⁶ In her memoirs, she says that she borrowed this image not from Tatar culture but the culture of Quakers, a liberal Christian group.

Oğuz, raised by a devout Muslim mother and in a Muslim environment, respects Islam. *Kaya* accuses *Hamdi Pasha's* fellow party members for provoking Islamists against Turkists and causing *Oğuz's* death. Islamists gain the majority in New Ottoman Party to defeat Turkists after *Oğuz's* bill, decentralization of the government, passes. The love between cousins stays platonic and idealized from the beginning to the end of the plot. Both the protagonist and *Oğuz* live for their ideals.

Tatarcık: Calling a Girl “Little Tatar” or “Sandfly”

Halide Edip served at the front during the Turkish War in 1921–1922 (Adivar 2010: 216). She visited many villages when the Turkish army was defeating the Greek army and saw people and their life in Anatolia in the early 1920s. She wrote the novel *Tatarcık* between 1938–1939, when she was in self-exile. During her service in the army, she spent quite a time in the Tatar villages, which “Greeks had spared because they mistook them for Russian settlements.” She admired that “they were all clean and well cared for; the women looked wide-awake and less tired, every child could read, and it was a surprise for her to talk to their schoolmaster.” Her admiration went further when she realized that in every form of material progress, Tatars, emigrants from Crimea, were superior to people living in Anatolian villages. She was disappointed when Ismet Pasha used Tatars’ appearance as an excuse not to accept their fellow Crimean migration from Crimea in the early 1900s.

Their birth-rate was high, and their infant mortality low. As the supreme problem in Turkey seems to be the scarcity of its population, I wondered why we did not allow them to emigrate to Turkey from Crimea, where there was a great famine. I mentioned that Ismet pasha one day. He was looking at his garden, where a Tartar woman was passing with a pail of water. She was an elderly and typically Mongolic woman, plain but pleasant, whit skit eyes and high cheekbones. He shook his head, humorously. ‘They would alter the looks of the Turkish race,’ he said. I don’t want us to look like that” (Adivar 1928: 232).

Tatars had been living in Anatolia for hundreds of years since the mass migration of steppe Nogai Tatars to the Ottoman Empire started during 1787–1792, after the Jassy Treaty. Not developing a national identity based on the land but an affiliation to Islam, Tatars left the *Darul Harb*, “land of war,” where Russians governed, and emigrated to *Darul Islam* “land of Islam” where the Great Ottoman Empire, the protector of Muslims, reigned, so that they could preserve their religion and religious life. It is called *hijra*, or homecoming, in the history of Islam when a group of Muslims return from a place of infidel’s reign to a place where Muslims can practice Islam freely. Those emigrants found a haven for themselves in Anatolia and brought their unique culture with them (Williams 2016: 13). Tatar emigration continued until 1902, including many Tatars who came for education and did not

return because of Russian annexation. 1,000,000 or 1,200,000 Tatars immigrated to Ottoman land during this period (Williams 2016: 37). However, they never felt the same as local people, who called “muhajir” or migrant. While the Tatars who remained in Crimea became more religious to protect their identity from the Russians, those new inhabitants of Anatolia enjoyed following their folk religion, Islam.

The opening of the novel *Tatarcık* starts with a discussion on the nickname of the protagonist Lale. The third-person narrator raises that there is a dispute on this nickname *Tatarcık* in the setting and during the development of the plot. The narrator indicates in the setting that the place and characters are all fictional, since the author was living abroad when she wrote the novel. The plot takes place in a village in Istanbul, where it is somehow connected to the life of upper-class old elites of the Ottoman Empire, who had lost their wealth and power, and new elites of the Republic of Turkey. The opening sentence is, “*Everybody in the village used to refer to her as Tatarcık.*” Then, the third person narrator introduces the protagonist’s father in the setting.

After knowing Tatarcık’s village, you should know her father since some people gave this nickname to her only for her father was a Tatar. Though it was said that she was called as Tatarcık because they resembled her a small biting insect (sandfly), it was not resolved yet (Adivar 1993: 14).

Despite the cultural discrimination against the Tatars in society, the third person narrator idolizes them. Villagers called the protagonist’s father “*Tatar Osman*” behind his back to degrade him, but the narrator exalts his character by revealing his merits. The narrator emphasizes that Osman, a fisherman, was a literate person. He performs Friday congregational prayers; however, villagers feel discomfort being around him. Although he was a very private person, he makes donations and helps people in need. He supports the Independence War by smuggling ammunition and guns to Anatolia with his boat. The narrator uses a sad and apologetic tone to show agony that he remained an alien to them during his entire life, despite the fact that he had lived in the same village with them for almost three decades.

Even though he had an education and lived in Istanbul for almost 30 years, it was clear from his accent that he was a Tatar. He insisted on stressing the “k” sounds of the letters “kaf” and “kef” (Adivar 1993: 16)

The narrator stresses that Osman, the protagonist’s father, did not change his Tatar accent. The reader can see hostility to Tatar elements in the language not only from ordinary people but also from intellectuals. Elites of Istanbul and the new elites of Ankara never tolerated accents in standardized Turkish. Halide Edip mentions that it is because of pride of Istanbulites who discriminated against minorities for their accents in shadow theatres and traditional Ottoman comedies. Since one of the founders of Turkism was a Tatar and the movement’s ideology was based on an imagined Turkic community, their sympathy for Tatars received backlash from new

literary elites of Republic of Turkey. Ahmet Haşim wrote in 1914 that “The followers of Pan-Turkism and those who styled themselves ‘Pan-Turanists’ made Constantinopolitan speech clumsily cumbersome by borrowing words of Asian origin from the pre-Islamic legends and mythologies of Turkish tribes. In juxtaposition with Constantinopolitan literature and language, the product of refined and sophisticated civilization, this new phraseology interspersed with Tatar origin words gave the impression of a tousled, repulsive alien figure” (Haşim 2016: 95).

The tension of popularizing vernacular language to create a “national print-language” had central ideological and political importance. Benedict Andersen mentions that print language is massively used by the first wave of Turkish nationalists in the late nineteenth century. He also argues that “the first groups to do so were the marginalized vernacular-based coalitions of the educated,” who were new bourgeoisie. Once specific standards were imposed in vernacular language, “from which too-marked deviations were impermissible.” The second generation aimed to standardize the vernacular language which created oppression even among the compatriots (Anderson 2006: 81). The new model of Turkish language for Turks was based on not only standardized written language, but it aimed at verbal forms of the language, whose consensus was dissolved after penetration of Tatar culture, which was thought of as degenerating the status quo of elite culture. Indeed, using their status quo, dignity, and wealth, old elites rely on their dialect as their pride and cultural capita.

Protagonist Lale lives with her mother after her father passes away. She receives her father’s veteran pension until it gets cut and attends school. After they cut the pension, she rents half of their houses and works as an English teacher. As an educated woman, the protagonist feels that she needs to teach to the villagers how to be civilized. The narrator brings a conflict between ignorant villagers and the protagonist over following traffic rules on the street. A fisherman gets angry at her after she has forced him to walk on the sidewalk by chasing him on her bicycle. He curses the protagonist and thinks to himself that “*He would have showed Tatar bastard!*” (Adivar 1993: 29), but his wealthy client was waiting for him. This negative image of Tatars in the mind of the locals comes with her ethnic identity. In addition to the fisherman, old Islamist character *Abdulgaffar Efendi* who once saying “*Tatars are a nation who were cursed by God. Wherever they step, the grass never grows.*” (Adivar 1993: 17). Halide changes her hostile attitude toward political Islamists in her novel *Yeni Turan* to sympathy toward cultural Islamists in *Tatarcık*. By the end of the plot, *Abdulgaffar Efendi*’s perspective changes, and he feels pity after the protagonist lost her father when she was 13.

In addition to being ostracized by villagers, this modern Tatar girl becomes a target of bullies when her young neighbor invites his six friends to camp in the village. They are all well-educated young generation, sons of old elites of Istanbul, who all seek to the answer of the question who they are. However, she is insulted by the young host who does not like strong women who compete with men in the workplace. To insult her, he tells his friend that her last name was “Tatarcık.” When

Recep addresses her by “Miss Tatarcık,” the protagonist feels humiliated. This reaction to the protagonist goes to double meaning of the word “Tatarcık,” little Tatar, daughter of a Tatar or sandfly, that the author explains in the exposition. The protagonist never emphasizes her Tatar identity, but she centers her Turkish identity. One of the young guests asks why she feels offended being called “Tatarcık” if her father was a Tatar. *Hasim*’s father answers, “There is humiliation and mockery beyond it.” (Adivar 1993: 93). He continues that the protagonist is a brilliant serious girl whom he admired.

Although the protagonist of the novel *Tatarcık*, is a mixed Tatar and Circassian girl, the main character whom she gets engaged to the resolution is the son of protagonist Rabia in the previous bestselling novel of Halide Edip, *the Clown and His Daughter*. She transfers much information about his background from that novel to keep this newborn baby as the new generation of the new Turkish Republic, reminding readers that he is the son of a religious mother and converted Western father.

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The Animal Names in the Book of Leviticus of the Gözleve Bible (1841). Part I: Mammal, Insect and Reptile Species

Murat Işık

1. Introduction

This article will present the names of the mammal, insect and reptile species that occur in the Book of Leviticus (hereinafter referred to as Lev) of the so-called Gözleve Bible (hereinafter referred to as Göz. 1841) and compare these data with their equivalents in a recently-published Crimean Karaim Bible translation (hereinafter referred to as CrKB). The so-called Göz. 1841 (also known as ‘Eupatoria 1841’) is an entire translation of the Tanakh (without the chronicles) into Karaim which was printed in four volumes in Gözleve (present-day Eupatoria in the Crimea) in 1841 (Jankowski 2018: 51). The main corpus¹ of the present study is the Lev, which was written in Hebrew script and can be found on pages 184–240, spanning 57 pages of the Göz. 1841 and consisting of 27 chapters.

Another corpus of this study is the Lev of the CrKB translation. The basic manuscript for this translation comprises volume I and volume IV of the BSMS 288, which is held in the Cambridge University Library in 4 volumes. However, the CrKB also includes several manuscripts,² e.g. H 170 (Gaster) and B 282, as well as some short fragments, e.g. JSul.III.02, Baxč. 116, Evr I 143, Evr I 144, Or. Ms. 169 (CrKB I: XVI–XX). For this article, the related examples of the Lev were taken from the CrKB I: 165–217.

In Tanakh, the Lev specifically describes which animals are clean or unclean to eat and/or to sacrifice. In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, there exist altogether 58 different animal names, e.g. mammals (20), insects (4), reptiles (5), birds (23), and general animal group names (6). In this regard, the main aim of the present study is to demonstrate and compare the Oghuzic, Kipchak, and non-Turkic animal names (mammal, insect, and reptile species) that appear throughout the Lev translations of

¹ I would like to thank Zsuzsanna Olach for providing me the necessary data, which are the digital photographs of the original Göz. 1841. The transcription of the relevant data was carried out by me based on a system that was presented in CrKB I: XXIV–XXV.

² Note that, in the CrKB edition, the Göz. 1841 was also used for some unavailable or unclear fragments of BSMS 288 since the scholars considered that the general linguistic shape of these translations is similar (CrKB: XX).

two Karaim Bibles. Thus, it is important to mention the widely-known Ottoman Turkish influence on the Kipchak languages of the Crimean area (see e.g. Doerfer 1959: 272–280, Schönig 2010: 107–119). As for the Crimean Karaim, it is also possible to see these Ottoman Turkish and/or Oghuzic influences as well (Gülsevin 2013: 214–219, Jankowski 1997: 53–82, Németh 2016: 199–200), while it is difficult to claim whether the non-Kipchak features in Crimean Karaim texts were directly influenced by Ottoman Turkish or via Crimean Tatar (Németh 2016: 200). However, together with the Kipchak forms, such Oghuzic influences often occur in the Göz. 1841 as well, which therefore was considered, as the editors modernised the old manuscripts to adapt to Turkish (CrKB I: XX). Although these mixed characteristics appear together, the distribution of the Oghuzic/Kipchak features in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 shows different numbers throughout its chapters. For instance, among the 27 chapters, Chapters 11, 13, 14, 15, 23, 25, 26, and 27 show the largest number of Oghuzic elements, whereas the other chapters demonstrate the highly-predominant Kipchak characteristics as well (Işık 2018: 74).

Finally, it is worth noting that the relevant data will be demonstrated together with their equivalents³ in the original Hebrew Bible and their descriptions in a Hebrew dictionary (CEDHL). In order to show some differences, the relevant examples from the other Books of the Göz. 1841 will also be presented. However, only the translation of Pentateuch (Torah) will be used. Besides this, together with two Karaim dictionaries (ACKED, KRPS), some commonly-known early written Turkic sources (e.g. IrkB, KB, DLT, CC, etc.) and Turkic studies (DTMK, EDPT, ESTJa, L, TS, etc.) will also be shown to explain the existing Oghuzic–Kipchak oppositions. Note that, the identical/similar animal names to the Biblical Hebrew forms in the Lev of these two Karaim Bible translations were not attested in the mentioned Karaim dictionaries. Thus, in the present study, such Biblical Hebrew words (that do not occur in the Karaim dictionaries/sources) will be treated as untranslated items.⁴ Therewithal, in order to demonstrate certain similarities, the transcriptions of Biblical Hebrew words will also be given based on the Karaim transcription system. Thence, it must be noted that the transcription system does not represent the original Hebrew forms accurately.

3 In the study, some examples of English and Turkish Bible translations also exist which were collected from a software called ‘Bible Works 9’. In addition, a website (www.biblehub.com) was also very helpful in terms of viewing 29 different English Bible translations for the relevant parts of the Hebrew Bible.

4 The main reason for this consideration is that many animal names occurring in the Hebrew Bible were not described clearly and/or they denote more than one animal (see, 4.5. *göz tökä*) in Hebrew dictionaries, which might cause certain words to remain untranslated in some Bible translations.

2. Mammals

2.1. *ečki*

According to Clauson (EDPT: 24), the word *ečkü* was a generic term for ‘goat’ and has been attested in the early written Turkic sources as well, e.g. DLT I: 95 *ečki*, CC: 84 *ečki* ‘goat’. The Kipchak languages present some similar/identical forms, e.g. Kaz. *eški*, Kir., CrTat. *ečki* ‘goat’ whereas the word *keči* and the like show the Oghuzic counterparts, e.g. Tur. *keçi*, Az. *keči*, Trk. *geči*, Tat. *käğä*, CrTat. *keči* ‘goat’ (DTMK: 43, ESTJa 3: 34–36, L: 426–427). In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, the word *ečki* ‘goat’ (ACKED: 146, KRPS: 672) occurs 12 times (e.g. Lev 1:10), and denotes the Biblical Hebrew word עִז [‘ez] ‘goat’ (CEDHL: 468). The same Biblical word has been translated as *ečki* in the Lev of the CrKB as well. Thence, both the Lev of these Karaim Bible translations present a Kipchak form for this animal species.

2.2. *siğir*

The word *siğir* ‘cow; bull; cattle; ox’ (ACKED: 349–350, KRPS: 488) appears 13 times in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 (e.g. Lev 3:1) and stands for the Biblical Hebrew word בָּקָר [baqar] ‘cattle; herd; oxen’ (CEDHL: 81). The Lev of the CrKB presents the same Turkic word as well. According to Clauson (EDPT: 814–815), the word *siğir* probably was a generic term at first indicating ‘large bovine’. In the early written Turkic sources this form has been attested, e.g. DLT I: 364 *siğir*, CC: 227 *sygyr* ‘cattle; ox’ which also has survived in many modern Turkic languages, e.g. Tur. *siğir*, Az., Trk. *siğir*, Kaz., Kir., Tat. *siyir*, CrTat. *siğir* (DTMK: 183, ESTJa 7: 411, L: 435) ‘cattle; bovine’. However, among the slightly different forms, the Karaim Bible examples are identical to the Oghuzic form.

2.3. *koy*

The word *koy* goes back to the form *koñ* ‘sheep’ which has been attested in the early written Turkic sources in slightly different forms, e.g. IrkB 14: *koñ*, KB: 59 *koy*, DLT I: 31 *koy/kon*, CC: 198 *qoj* ‘sheep’. However, in modern Turkic languages, there exists an Oghuzic–Kipchak opposition for this word, e.g. Tur. *koyun*, Az., Trk. *göyün* ‘sheep’ vs Kaz., Kir., Tat., CrTat. *qoy* ‘id’ (DTMK: 140, ESTJa 6: 24–26, L: 431). In the Lev of the Göz. 1841 (e.g. Lev 3:6), the word *koy* ‘sheep’ (ACKED: 316, KRPS: 368) is present 31 times and stands for Biblical Hebrew words צֹן [con] ‘small cattle; sheep and goats’, כֶּבֶשׂ [kebeš] ‘lamb’, שֶׁן [še] ‘(young) sheep, lamb; small cattle’, and כִּבְשָׂא [kibša] ‘ewe lamb’ (CEDHL: 539, 270, 642). On the other hand, the Lev of the CrKB shows the word *koy* for the same translations as well. Thus, both the Lev of the Göz. 1841 and the CrKB present the Kipchak Turkic form for this mammal species.

2.4. *buğa*

The Biblical Hebrew word פָּר [par] ‘bull; bullock; steer’ (CEDHL: 522) has been translated as *buğa* ‘bull’ (ACKED: 95, KRPS: 136) 29 times (e.g. Lev 4:4) in the Lev of the Göz. 1841. The Lev of the CrKB also presents the same word which has been attested starting from the early written Turkic sources, e.g. KB: 575 *buğa*, DLT II: 78 *boka*, CC: 62 *boğa* ‘bull’ until the modern Turkic languages with some phonological differences, e.g. Tur. *boğa*, Az. *buğa*, Trk. *buğa*, Kaz., Kir. *buqa*, Tat., CrTat. *buğa* ‘bull’ (DTMK: 75, ESTJa 2: 230–232, L: 437). According to Clauson (EDPT: 312), the word goes back to the form *buka* and has only been attested as *boğa* in Ottoman Turkish and some Tatar dialects. However, the Lev of these Karaim Bible translations do not present the Ottoman Turkish/Turkish form.

2.5. *ulaq*

The Lev of the Göz. 1841 shows the word *ulaq* ‘kid’ (ACKED: 425, KRPS: 576) 22 times (e.g. Lev 4:24) which signifies the Biblical Hebrew words שְׁעִיר [ša‘ir] ‘he-goat; buck’, and שְׁעִירָה [š‘ira] ‘she-goat’ (CEDHL: 672). The word *ulaq* also appears in the Lev of the CrKB and goes back to the form *oğlak* ‘kid; young goat’ which consists of the word *oğul* ‘son’ and the dim. suffix +*ak* (see, ESTJa 1: 405, OTWF I: 41). This common Turkic word has been attested in the early sources as well, e.g. KB: 31 *oğlak*, DLT I: 65 *oğlak*, CC: 174 *oγulaq* ‘kid’. In the modern Oghuz and Kipchak languages, there exist some differences, e.g. Tur. *oğlak*, Az. *oγlağ*, Trk. *ovlaq*, ‘kid’ vs Kaz. *laq*, Kir., Tat., CrTat. *ulaq* ‘id’ (DTMK: 168–170, ESTJa 1: 588–590, EDPT: 84–85, L: 429). Thus, it is possible to say that, the examples in the Lev of these Karaim Bible translations present once again a Kipchak form.

2.6. *kozu*

The word *kozu* ‘lamb’ (ACKED: 317) occurs 3 times in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 (e.g. Lev 4:32) and stands for the Biblical Hebrew words כֶּבֶשׂ [kebeš] ‘lamb’, and כִּבְשָׂא [kibša] ‘ewe lamb’ (CEDHL: 270). It is worth noting that, except for *koy* and *kozu*, the same Biblical Hebrew word has been translated as *koyun* twice in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 as well (see. 2.18 *koyun*). On the other hand, throughout the Lev of the CrKB, the word *kozu* appears only once (Lev 5:6) whereas the Biblical Hebrew word כֶּבֶשׂ [kebeš] has usually been translated as *koy*. However, the word *kozu* has been attested in the early written Turkic sources, e.g. KB 60: *kozi/kuzi*, DLT I: 7 *kuzi*, CC: 202 *qozy* ‘lamb’ and in many modern Turkic languages with some slight differences, e.g. Tur. *kuzu*, Az. *ğuzu*, Trk. *ğuzi*, Kaz. *qozı*, Kir. *qozu*, Tat. *quzi*, CrTat. *qozu* ‘lamb’ (DTMK: 147–148, ESTJa 6: 107–108, L: 433). As can be seen, among the slightly different forms, the Karaim Bible examples are similar/identical to the Kipchak forms.

2.7. *kočkar*

One of the earliest forms of the Turkic word that denotes ‘ram’ has been attested as *kočḡār*, e.g. DLT I: 321 *kočḡar*, whereas it is also possible to see the form *qočqar* ‘ram’ some time later, e.g. CC: 198. In the modern Turkic languages, Kipchak forms are similar to *kočkar*, e.g. Kaz. *qoščar*, Kir. *qočqor*, Tat., CrTat. *qučqar* whereas the Oghuz languages and Crimean Tatar show some contrasting forms as well, e.g. Tur. *koç*, Az., Trk. *ğoç*, CrTat. *qoç* ‘ram’ (DTMK: 136–137, ESTJa 6: 86–88, L: 432). The Lev of the Göz. 1841 presents the word *kočkar* ‘ram’ (ACKED: 310, KRPS: 310) 22 times (e.g. Lev 5:15) which indicates the Biblical Hebrew word אַיִל [ayil] ‘ram’ (CEDHL: 21). The same word has been shown in the Lev of the CrKB for the same translation as well. Therefore, both Karaim Bible translations show a Kipchak type word for this animal species.

2.8. *ögüz*

The Biblical Hebrew word שׁוֹר [šor] ‘ox; bull’ (CEDHL: 647) has been translated as *ögüz* ‘ox’ (ACKED: 266, KRPS: 437) in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 altogether 10 times (e.g. Lev 7:23). In the Lev of the CrKB, the word has also been translated as *ögüz* which has probably been borrowed from Tocharian to Turkic languages (see, EDPT: 120). The word has been attested in the early written Turkic sources, e.g. IrkB: 14, KB: 534, DLT I: 59 *öküz*, CC: 182 *ögüz*, and in many modern Turkic languages in similar forms as well, e.g. Tur., Az., Trk. *öküz*, Kaz. *ögiz*, Kir. *ögüz*, Tat. *ügiz*, CrTat. *öküz* ‘ox’ (DTMK: 172, ESTJa 1: 521–522, L: 439). One of the slight differences between Oghuzic and Kipchak forms is the medial *-g/-k-* opposition in the word. As can be seen, both the Lev of Karaim Bible translations present a Kipchak form for this translation.

2.9. *büzuv*

The word *büzuv* ‘calf’ (ACKED: 83, KRPS: 145) exists 3 times in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 (e.g. Lev 9:2) and stands for the Biblical Hebrew word עֶגֶל [‘egel] ‘calf’ (CEDHL: 463). In the Lev of the CrKB, the Biblical word has been translated as *büzov*. According to Clauson (EDPT: 391), the Turkic word goes back to the form *buzagū* which has been attested in the early written Turkic sources, e.g. IrkB: 18 *buz(a)gu*, DLT I: 59 *buzagu*, CC: 70 *buzav/buzov* ‘calf’ and in the modern Turkic languages with slight differences, e.g. Tur. *buzagı*, Az., Trk. *buzov*, Kaz. *buzaw*, Kir. *muzoo*, Tat. *bozaw*, CrTat. *buzav* ‘calf’ (DTMK: 77, ESTJa 2: 239–240, L: 438). Therefore, both Karaim Bible translations show a common Turkic word for this animal species.

2.10. *deve*

According to Clauson (EDPT: 447–448), the Turkic word in the meaning of ‘camel’ might go back to the word *tevey* which has been attested in different forms in the early written Turkic sources as well, e.g. IrkB: 8 *t(ä)bä*, KB: 37 *tive*, DLT: 544

teve(y), CC: 252 *töve*. In the modern Turkic languages, the examples of the Oghuz languages show the voicing of the initial *t-* which also exists in Tatar and Crimean Tatar examples, e.g. Tur. *deve*, Az. *dävä*, Trk. *düye*, Tat. *döyä*, CrTat. *deve*, whereas the initial *t-* is preserved in the Kipchak languages, e.g. Kaz. *tüye*, Kir. *töö* (DTMK: 210–211, ESTJa 3: 313–315, L: 445). However, in Lev 11:4 of the Göz. 1841 and the CrKB, the Biblical Hebrew word גַּמָּל [gamal] ‘camel’ (CEDHL: 103) has been translated respectively as *deve* and *devä* ‘camel’ (ACKED: 136, KRPS: 183) which are identical to the Oghuzic forms. Nevertheless, in the other Books of the Göz. 1841, a Kipchak form has usually⁵ been attested, e.g. Gen 24:11, Exo 9:3, Deut 14:7, *tüyä* ‘camel’.

2.11. *ada tavušan/kirpi*

The word *ada tavušan* and *kirpi* occur together⁶ once in Lev 11:5 of the Göz. 1841, and denote the Biblical Hebrew word שָׂפָן [šafan] ‘rock badger (*hyrax syriacus*); cony rabbit’ (CEDHL: 676). The word *ada tavušan* (lit. ‘island rabbit/hare’⁷) has been attested in Ottoman Turkish as *ada tavšanī*, denoting ‘rabbit’ (RTD: 618) whereas *tavšan* (see 2.12 *tavušan*) itself stands for ‘hare’ (RTD: 387). In some modern Turkic languages, the word is still preserved, e.g. Tur. *ada tavşanı* (ÖTS 1: 107), Az. *adadovşanı* (ADİL I: 43) ‘European rabbit (*oryctolagus cuniculus*)’. On the other hand, the same Biblical word has been translated only as *kirpi* in the Lev of the CrKB. However, this word clearly indicates ‘hedgehog’ (ACKED: 213, KRPS: 323) and has been attested in the early written Turkic sources, e.g. DLT I: 415, CC: 148 *kirpi* ‘hedgehog’ and in many modern Turkic languages in identical form as well, e.g. Tur., Az., Trk., Kaz., Kir., Tat., CrTat. *kirpi* ‘hedgehog’ (DTMK: 110, ESTJa 5: 72–74, L: 166). Considering that, the Biblical word does not denote ‘hedgehog’ and has not been translated as ‘hedgehog’ in the other Bible translations,⁸ it is very interesting that the word *kirpi* occurs in both Karaim translations while the Lev of the Göz. 1841 also presents an Oghuzic word that denotes a different animal species. Moreover, this Biblical word has been attested twice in the whole Torah. However, in Deut 14:7, once again both the Göz. 1841 and the CrKB present the word *kirpi*.

2.12. *tavušan*

In Lev 11:6 of the Göz. 1841, the word *tavušan* ‘hare; rabbit’ (*tavšan*, ACKED: 379, KRPS: 505) appears once, denoting the Biblical Hebrew word אֶרֶבֶת [arnebet] ‘hare’

5 The Oghuzic form has also been attested in some parts of the Gen, e.g. Gen 12:16, 24:63 *devä* ‘camel’.

6 The word *kirpi* appears in parenthesis next to the word *ada tavušan*.

7 The word *tavušan* occurs as *tavšan* ‘hare, rabbit’ in ACKED: 388, KRPS: 505, while the word *ada* ‘island’ has also been listed in ACKED: 32, KRPS: 44.

8 In the English Bible translations, the word has been translated as ‘hyrax’ (e.g. NIV, NLT, etc.), ‘rock badger’ (e.g. ISV, ESV, etc.), ‘coney’ (e.g. KJB, ASV, etc.), and ‘rabbit’ (e.g. BST, YLT.) whereas in Turkish Bible translation it appears as *kaya tavşanı* (lit. ‘rock rabbit’).

(CEDHL: 56). Clauson (EDPT: 447) describes an earlier form as *tavišgan*, which has been attested in the early written sources, e.g. IrkB: 20 *t(a)b(i)šg(a)n* ‘hare’, DLT I: 513 *tavišgan*, ‘rabbit’ and in several modern Turkic languages, e.g. Tur. *tavşan*, Az. *dovşan*, Trk. *tovşan* ‘hare’, CrTat. *tavşan* ‘hare; rabbit’ (DTMK: 200, EDPT: 447, L: 164). However, there exists a counterpart for this animal in the Kipchak languages, e.g. Kaz. *qoyan*, Kir. *qoyon*, Tat. *quyan*, CrTat. *qoyan* (DTMK: 200, ESTJa 6: 29, L: 164) which has been attested in CC: 198 as *qojan* as well. The Lev of the CrKB presents the Kipchak counterpart *qoyan* ‘hare’ (ACKED: 316, KRPS: 368) for this translation. Thence, the Lev of these two Karaim Bible translations clearly present the mentioned Oghuzic–Kipchak opposition for this animal species. Nevertheless, the Biblical Hebrew word has been attested twice in the whole Hebrew Bible. However, in Deut. 14:7 of both Göz.1841 and the CrKB, the word has also been translated as the Kipchak form *qoyan*.

2.13. *χinzir/χazir*

In the Turkic languages, the word *toŋuz* ‘pig; swine’ has been attested in many sources, e.g. IrkB: 8, DLT I: 304, CC: 249 and in many Turkic languages with slight differences, e.g. Tur. *domuz*, Az. *donuz*, Trk. *doŋuz*, Kaz. *doŋız*, Kir. *doŋuz*, Tat. *duŋyız*, CrTat. *domuz* (DTMK: 221, ESTJa 3: 267–268, EDPT: 527). In Lev 11:7 of the CrKB, the Biblical Hebrew word חֲזִיר [ḥazir] ‘pig; swine’ (CEDHL: 212) has been translated as *doŋuz* as well. However, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 presents the word *χinzir* ‘pig, swine’ (ACKED: 184) together with the word *χazir* which also appears in parenthesis. The word *hinzir* has been attested in Ottoman Turkish (RTD: 734), and it is still preserved in Turkish (ÖTS 2: 1948–1949) as an Arabic loanword which is of Aramaic origin. However, the Gözleve Bible also presents the word *doŋuz* in Deut 14:8 where the Biblical word is present for the last time in the Torah.

2.14. *šepere*

Another mammal occurs as *šepere* once in Lev 11:19 of the Göz. 1841, and denotes the Biblical Hebrew word אֶתֶּלֶף [‘atalef] ‘bat’ (CEDHL: 469). This word does not occur in the Karaim dictionaries whereas it has been attested in Ottoman Turkish as *şeb-pere* (OTAL: 1146) and in Azerbaijani as *şəbpärä* (ADİL Vol. 4: 201) ‘bat’ which is of Persian origin. However, there exist some Turkic words in the meaning of ‘bat’ starting from the early written sources, e.g. DLT III: 433 *yarisa*, *aya yersgil* until the modern languages, e.g. Tur., Az. *yarasa*, Kaz. *žarqanat*, Kir. *žarjanat*, Tat. *yarqanat*, CrTat. *ğaryana* (DTMK: 240, ESTJa 4: 140–141, L: 168). However, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 shows a loanword which was common in some Oghuzic languages whereas the Lev of the CrKB presents the Kipchak Turkic form *yarkanat* that has been listed in the Karaim dictionaries as well (ACKED: 452, KRPS: 232). In the whole Torah, the same Biblical word appears in the Deut as well. Nonetheless, once again another Book of the Göz.1841 shows a Kipchak form, unlike the example of the Lev, e.g. Deut 14:18 *yarkanat* ‘bat’ vs Lev 11:19 *šepere* ‘id’.

2.15. *geliñčik*

The word *geliñčik* ‘mole’ (ACKED: 164, KRPS: 166) occurs once in Lev 11:29 of the Göz. 1841, and denotes the Biblical Hebrew word חֹלֵד [ḥoled] ‘mole’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible) (CEDHL: 217). The word *geliñčik* has been attested in Ottoman Turkish as *gelincik*⁹ (NS: 284) and still preserved in a few modern languages as well, e.g. Tur. *gelincik* (ÖTS 2: 1675), Az. *gälinčik* (ADİL II: 230), CrTat. *келинчек* [kelinček] (KRUS: 223) in the meaning of ‘weasel’. In the Karaim dictionary (ACKED: 164), it has been remarked as a Turkish loanword, which consists of *geliñ*¹⁰ ‘bride’ and one of the dim. suffixes *-čik* (ESTJa 3:18, WOT 1: 522–523). According to the Turkish dictionary (ÖTS 2: 1675), the word *gelincik* is a calque from Arabic عرس ابن [ibn ‘irs]. However, some similar semantic shifts ‘girl, beautiful female’ + dim. suffix > ‘weasel’, or other small furry animals, has been attested in some other languages as well, e.g. It. *belulla*, *donnola*, Fr. *belette*, OEng. *fairry*, Hun. *menyét* ‘weasel’. According to Róna-Tas (WOT I: 523), this connection might go back to some mythical tales, where ‘weasel’ transforms into a beautiful, charming young girl or it might have a common background that both are considered as ‘small, beautiful, but dangerous’. Considering that, the Biblical word has been translated as both ‘weasel’ and ‘mole’ in the different translations,¹¹ it is difficult to claim what the word exactly denotes in the Göz. 1841. On the other hand, in the Turkic languages there are different words for both ‘weasel; ferret’ e.g. Trk. *gözen/küzen*, Kaz. *küzen*, Kir. *küzön*, Tat. *közän* CrTat. *küzen* (DTMK: 119, EDPT: 761, L:163) and ‘mole’, e.g. Tur. *köstebek*, Az. *köstäbäk*, Trk. *körşıçan*, Kaz. *körtüşkan*, Kir. (*sokur*) *çıçkan*, Tat. *sukır tıçkan*, CrTat. *кёрсычан* [körşıčan] ‘mole’ (KTLS 1: 509–510, KRUS: 227). Thence, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 example clearly shows an Oghuzic/Ottoman Turkish word for this translation whereas the word has remained untranslated as *ḥoled* in the Lev of the CrKB.

2.16. *sičän*

The Biblical Hebrew word עֶכְבָּר [‘akbar] ‘mouse’ (a hapax legomenon in the Torah) (CEDHL: 471) is present once in Lev 11:29. It has been translated as *sičän* ‘rat, mouse’ (ACKED: 349, KRPS: 495) in both the Lev of the Göz. 1841 and the CrKB. In the early written Turkic sources the word has been attested in slightly different forms, e.g. DLT I: 75 *sıçgan*, CC: 227 *syčqan* which consists of the verb *sič-* ‘to defecate’ and one of the Turkic participle markers (see, DTMK: 180, WOT II: 1179). In the modern Oghuz languages and Crimean Tatar, the word consists of the

⁹ One of the earliest attestations of the word *gelincik* in Ottoman Turkish was from the 16th century (TS III: 1627). However, the same animal has also been attested as *ars*, *as*, *göcen* and *yiğirce* as well (TS VIII: 131).

¹⁰ The word also represents the Oghuzic feature, which is the voicing of initial unvoiced plosive *k-* > *g-* as well, e.g. Oghuzic *geliñ* ‘bride’ vs Kipchak *kelin* ‘id’.

¹¹ In the English Bible translations, the Biblical word has usually been translated as ‘mole rat’ (e.g. NLT, ESV, etc.), ‘mole’ (e.g. BSB, NASB, etc.), and ‘weasel’ (e.g. KJB, CSB, etc.) while the Turkish Bible also presents the word *gelincik* ‘weasel’.

Oghuzic participle marker *-(y)An*, e.g. Tur. *sıçan*, Az. *sičan*, Trk., CrTat. *sičan* whereas the Kipchak counterpart *-GAn* is attached to the verb stem in the Kipchak languages, e.g. Kaz. *tışqan*, Kir. *čičqan*, Tat. *tičqan*, Kar. *sičqan* (DTMK: 180, ESTJa 7: 456–461, L: 167). Thus, the word *sičan* in both Lev of these Karaim Bible translations show the Oghuzic characteristic.

2.17. *sivri sičan*

The word *sivri sičan* occurs once in Lev 11:30 of the Göz. 1841, and stands for the Biblical Hebrew word אַנָּכָה [anaḫa] ‘gecko; a kind of lizard’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible) (CEDHL: 41). The compound noun does not exist in the Karaim dictionaries. As was mentioned, the word *sičan* means ‘rat, mouse’ (ACKED: 349, KRPS: 195) in the Oghuz languages. On the other hand, the word *sivri* ‘sharp, pointed’ (ACKED: 358, KRPS: 472) has been remarked as Turkish loanword in Karaim which probably refers to the long nose of the animal. However, a similar form to *sivri sičan* exists in Turkish as *sivri fare*,¹² which stands for ‘common shrew (*sorex araneus*)’ (ÖTS 4: 4268). Among the different English Bible translations, this animal species has also been attested, e.g. DRB ‘shrew’.¹³ Considering that, the word *sivri* and *sičan* show the Oghuzic characteristics and a similar form is preserved in Turkish, it might be possible to regard the word as Ottoman Turkish loanword that stands for ‘shrew’. Nevertheless, in the Lev of the CrKB, the word has remained untranslated as *anaḫa*.

2.18. *qoyun*

The word *qoyun* ‘sheep’ (ACKED: 316, KRPS: 369) occurs twice in Lev 14:24/25 of the Göz. 1841, denoting the Biblical Hebrew word כֶּבֶשׂ [kebeš] ‘lamb’ (CEDHL: 270). In the CrKB, the same parts of Lev also show a similar form, that is, *qoyin*. As was discussed, the word *qoyun* is an Oghuzic counterpart of the Kipchak *koy*. Thence, Chapter 14 of Lev shows this opposition in both Karaim Bible translations as well.

3. Insects

3.1. *čekirtke*

The word *čekirtke* ‘locust’ (*čegirtke*, ACKED: 115, KRPS: 639) occurs once in Lev 11:22 of the Göz. 1841, and denotes the Biblical Hebrew word אַרְבֶּה [arbe] ‘locust’ (CEDHL: 53). A slightly different form appears in the Lev of the CrKB as *čegirtkä*. According to Clauson (EDPT: 417), the word goes back to the form *čekürge* which has been attested in DLT I: 490, and in many Turkic languages with some

¹² The Arabic loanword *fare* also stands for ‘rat’ in Turkish (ÖTS 2: 1545).

¹³ However, the word has usually been attested as ‘gecko’ (e.g. NIV, NLT, etc.) and ‘ferret’ (e.g. KJB, JB2000, etc.) in the English Bible translations.

phonological differences as well, e.g. Tur. *çekirge*, Az., Trk, *čekirtke*, Kaz. *šegirtke*, Kir. *čegirtke*, Tat. *čikirtkä*, CrTat. *čegertke* (DTMK: 84–85, L: 187). Therefore, both Karaim translations show a common Turkic word for this insect species. Another point is that the Biblical word exists altogether 7 times in the Torah. However, the word has only been attested as *čegirtkä* in other books of Göz.1841 and the CrKB, e.g. Exo 10:4/12/13/14/19, Deut 28:38 *čegirtkä* ‘locust’.

3.2. *jurjuri*

In Lev 11:22 of the Göz. 1841, the word *jurjuri* or *jürjüri*¹⁴ occurs once to denote the Biblical Hebrew word *שַׁלְמַנִּי* [sal‘am], which has been described as ‘a kind of locust’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible). The words *jurjuri* and *sal‘am* do not occur in the Karaim dictionaries. However, in Turkish, there exists a similar form as *cırcır böceği* (lit. *cırcır* insect) ‘cricket’ (ÖTS 1: 800) which has been attested in CC: 79 as *čirlaḡ*. The word *čirlaḡ* consists of *čir*¹⁵ as the sound of the insect as an onom. lexical item and the Old Turkic suffix *+lak*, which usually derives bird names (OTWF I: 89). In the modern Turkic languages, there exist different words that go back to similar onom. words, e.g. Az. *cırcırma*, Trk. *çirlak*, Kaz. *şırıldavık, şıldelik*, Kir. *saratan*, Tat. *şörçik/čikirtkä*, CrTat. *чырлакь* [čirlaḡ], *чырчырна* [čirčirna] ‘cricket’ (KTLS 1: 100–101, KRUS: 721). Hence, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 example is similar to the Oghuzic forms whereas the Lev of the CrKB presents the untranslated Biblical Hebrew word *sal‘am*.

3.3. *χargol*

The Biblical Hebrew word *חָרְגוֹל* [hargol] ‘a kind of locust (a hapax legomenon in the Bible)’ (CEDHL: 230) has been remained untranslated as *χargol* in both Lev 11:22 of the Göz. 1841 and the CrKB. This unclear locust species has mostly been translated as ‘cricket’ (e.g. NIV, NLT, etc.), and ‘beetle’ (e.g. AKJV, WBT.) in the English Bible translations.

3.4. *χagav*

Another untranslated word is *χagav*, which appears once in Lev 11:22 of both the Göz. 1841 and the CrKB, denoting the Biblical Hebrew word *חָגָב* [hagav] ‘locust; grasshopper’ (CEDHL: 207). In the whole Torah, this Biblical Hebrew word has also been attested in Num 13:33. However, there, it has been translated as *čegirtkä* in the Göz. 1841, whereas the CrKB presents the word *čegirtäk*. In the Lev, the word most probably has not been translated as *čegirtkä* since it has already denoted *אַרְבֵּי* [arbe] ‘locust’ in Lev 11:22.

¹⁴ Due to the Hebrew script system, the word can be read in these two forms as well.

¹⁵ This onom. word has also been attested in DLT I: 324 as *sir*.

4. Reptiles

4.1. *qaplı bağa*

The word *qaplı bağa* ‘turtle, tortoise’ (*qaplı baqa*, ACKED: 289, KRPS: 362) occurs once in Lev 11:29 of the Göz. 1841, and denotes the Biblical Hebrew word צב [ṣab], which has been described as ‘turtle; tortoise; and a kind of lizard’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible) (CEDHL: 539). The Lev of the CrKB presents the identical Biblical Hebrew word ṣab for this translation. According to Clauson (EDPT: 311–312), the word *baka* means ‘frog’ and also ‘tortoise’ if it preceded by words meaning ‘horn; stone’ and the like, e.g. DLT III: 295 *müngüz baka* ‘turtle’. However, the word *baqa* has usually been attested in the Turkic languages together with *taş*, *taş* ‘stone’ in the meaning of ‘turtle; tortoise’, e.g. Az. *tışbaya*, Kaz. *tasbaqa*, Kir., Tat. *taşbaqa*. On the other hand, in Ottoman Turkish, the word *qaplı/qaplu* ‘covered’ has been also attested, e.g. *qablubağa*¹⁶ (NS: 412). In the modern Turkic languages, similar forms are present, e.g. Tur. *kaplumbağa*, CrTat. *qaplibaqa* (DTMK: 165). Hence, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 shows a similar form to Ottoman Turkish for this animal species.

4.2. *güneş kelerisi*

In Lev 11:30 of the Göz. 1841, the word *güneş kelerisi* (lit. sun lizard) occurs once, denoting the Biblical Hebrew word קוֹאֵחַ [koah] that has been described as ‘a kind of lizard (a hapax legomenon in the Bible)’ (CEDHL: 274). In the Lev of the CrKB, the word has been remained untranslated as *kovaḥ*. It is worth noting that, the words *koah* and *güneş kelerisi* do not occur in the Karaim dictionaries. However, the compound noun *güneş kelerisi* consists of two Turkic words. The word *güneş* ‘sun’ (ACKED: 169–170, KRPS: 162) is an Oghuz type word (TTL: 120) whereas the word *kuyaş* is the Kipchak counterpart which appears in both the Lev of the Göz. 1841 and the CrKB, e.g. Lev 22:7, *kuyaş* ‘sun’. The second word *keler* is a Turkic word that stands for ‘lizard’ starting from the early stages, e.g. DLT I: 364 as *keler*. Therewithal, the second element of the word *güneş kelerisi* seems having two 3SG.POSS suffixes (*keler+i+si* = lizard+3SG.POSS+3SG.POSS), which is very rare in Turkic languages.¹⁷ Nevertheless, although the word *güneş kelerisi* consists of an Oghuzic lexical item, it does not occur in commonly known sources or other Turkic languages. Hence, it needs further research to describe this word.

¹⁶ One of the earliest attestations of the word *kaplubağa* in Ottoman Turkish was from the 14th century (TS IV: 2248). However, the same animal has also been attested as *kaplıbağa*, and *bağa* as well (TS VIII: 200).

¹⁷ Nonetheless, there are some exceptions as well, e.g. Tur. *bir+i+si* = one+3SG.POSS+3SG.POSS ‘someone; one of them; anybody’.

4.3. *yıldız kelerisi*

The word *yıldız kelerisi* (lit. star lizard) occurs once in Lev 11:30 of the Göz. 1841, and denotes the Biblical Hebrew word לָעָא [l(e)ta'a] 'lizard (a hapax legomenon in the Bible). Once again, the Lev of the CrKB shows an untranslated Biblical word, that is, *leta'a*. As was mentioned earlier, the word *keler* denotes 'lizard' in the Turkic languages. On the other hand, the word *yıldız* 'star' (ACKED: 463, KRPS: 264) goes back to the word *yultuz* which was a generic form for 'fixed stars' and 'planets' (EDPT: 922–923). As similar to the *güneş kelerisi*, the compound noun shows a Turkish form, since the word *yıldız* exists in Turkish and also Crimean Tatar whereas it appears in slightly different forms in other languages, e.g. Az. *ulduz*. Trk. *yulduz*, Kaz. *žulduz*, Kir. *žıldız*, Tat. *yoldız* (ESTJa 4: 279–280, EDPT: 922–923, KRUS: 215). As was shown above, the second word *kelerisi* shows the irregular usage of the POSS suffixes as well. Therewithal, considering their meanings, the words *güneş* 'sun' and *yıldız* 'star' might categorize the lizards according to their daily occurrence and/or their habitat.

4.4. *kerten kelesi*

The word *kerten kelesi* 'lizard' (*kertenkele*, ACKED: 208, KRPS: 393) occurs once in Lev 11:30 of the Göz. 1841, and denotes the Biblical Hebrew word חֹמֶת [ḥomet], which was described as 'lizard' (a hapax legomenon in the Bible). In the CrKB, the word has been remained untranslated as *ḥomet*, which does not exist in the Karaim dictionaries. The word has been listed as *kertenkele* in the Karaim dictionaries and appears in some Oghuz languages as well, e.g. Tur. *kertenkele*, Az. *kärtänkälä*. Therewithal, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 example *kerten kelesi* shows another unusual usage of 3SG.POSS suffix. It is also worth noting that this animal species has attested in different words in the other Turkic languages, e.g. Trk. *hajlık*, Kaz. *kesirtke*, Kir. *keskeldirik*, Tat. *kältä yılan*, CrTat. *кертан* [kertan], *кертун* [kartin], *кесертки* [kesertki] 'lizard' (KTLS 1: 469, KRUS: 282). Therefore, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 example is very similar to the Oghuzic forms.

4.5. *göz tökä*

The last animal species is *göz tökä* which occurs once in Lev 11:30 of the Göz. 1841, denoting the Biblical Hebrew word תִּנְשֵׁמֶת [*tinšemet*], which stands for two different animals. The first one is a kind of owl, probably 'white owl' (*tyto alba*), whereas the other one is 'chameleon' (CEDHL: 709). In the CrKB, the word has not been translated and therefore appears as *tinšemet*. The word *göz* means 'eye' (ACKED: 168) and shows the Oghuzic–Kipchak *göz-köz* opposition. On the other hand, *tökä* does not occur in the Turkic sources whereas it might be related to a type of lizard which is known as 'tokay gecko' that has vertical pupils in its eyes. It should be noted that the mentioned Biblical Hebrew word occurs altogether 3 times

in the Hebrew Bible. In Lev 11:18 of the Göz. 1841, it appears as *koğu* ‘swan’¹⁸ whereas in Deut 14:16, it remains untranslated as *tinšemet*. However, more research is needed to describe the word *göz töke*.

Conclusion

In this article, 29 animal names that appear in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 were presented together with their equivalents in the Lev of the CrKB. Although the languages of the Göz. 1841 and the CrKB are assumed to be Karaim, their lexicon shows some differences. In the Lev of the CrKB, out of 27 items¹⁹ (which denote mammal, insect, and reptile species), 16 of them (13 mammal, 3 insect species) occur in identical/similar forms to the Lev of the Göz. 1841 (59%).

Lev	Animal Species	The Gözleve Bible (1841)	The CrKB
1:10	goat	ečki	ečki
3:1	cow; bull; cattle; ox	sığır	sığır
3:6	sheep	koy	koy
4:4	calf	buğa	buğa
4:24	kid	ulağ	ulağ
4:32/5:36	lamb	kozu	kozu
5:15	ram	koçkar	koçkar
7:23	ox	ögüz	ögüz
9:2	calf	bızuv	bızov
11:4	camel	deve	devä
11:5	hedgehog	kirpi	kirpi
11:29	rat	sıçan	sıçan
11:22	locust	çekirtkä	čegirtkän
11:22	locust; grasshopper	çagav	çagav
11:22	a kind of locust	çargol	çargol
14:24	sheep	koyun	koyın

Table 1. The identical/similar words between the Lev of the Göz. 1841 and the CrKB

In the Lev of the CrKB, among the 27 animal names, there exist 17 Turkic words (63%), e.g. *ečki* ‘goat’, *sığır* ‘cow; bull; cattle; ox’, *koy* ‘lamb’, *buğa* ‘bull’, *ulağ* ‘kid’, *kozu* ‘lamb’, *koçkar* ‘ram’, *ögüz* ‘ox’, *bızov* ‘calf’, *devä* ‘camel’, *kirpi* ‘hedgehog’, *koyan* ‘hare; rabbit’, *toñuz* ‘pig; swine’, *yarkanat* ‘bat’, *sıçan* ‘rat’,

¹⁸ Although the Biblical word has been described as ‘owl’ and ‘chameleon’, there are many translations which consider the word as ‘swan’ as well, e.g. AKJV, BST, etc.

¹⁹ The Lev of the CrKB shows 2 animal names less than the Lev of Göz. 1841 since there are 2 extra words (*çazır*, *kirpi*) that appear in parentheses in the Lev of the Göz. 1841.

qoyin ‘sheep’, *čegirtkän* ‘locust’. Although the Turkic words are predominantly Kipchak type, some of these items show slightly different Oghuzic phonological and morphological features, e.g. *devä* ‘camel’, *sičan* ‘rat’ (cf. Kipchak *teve*, *sičkan*), while the word *qoyin* demonstrates the Oghuzic counterpart of Kipchak *qoy* as well. Therewithal, the Lev of the CrKB consists of many Biblical Hebrew words as well (37%), e.g. *holed* ‘weasel’, *anaqa* ‘gecko; a kind of lizard’, *sal’am*, ‘a kind of locust’, *χargol* ‘a kind of locust’, *χagav* ‘locust; grasshopper’, *čab* ‘turtle; a kind of lizard’, *kovaḥ* ‘a kind of lizard’, *leta’a* ‘a kind of lizard’, *homet* ‘lizard’, *tinšemet* ‘chameleon’ (2 mammal, 3 insect, and 5 reptile species). As was discussed, the main reason might be related to the uncertainty of some Biblical Hebrew words.

The Lev of the Göz. 1841 presents 23 Turkic items out of 29 animal names (79%), e.g. *ečki* ‘goat’, *sığır* ‘cow; bull; cattle; ox’, *qoy* ‘lamb’, *buğa* ‘bull’, *ulaḫ* ‘kid’, *kozu* ‘lamb’, *koçkar* ‘ram’, *ögüz* ‘ox’, *bızuv* ‘calf’, *deve* ‘camel’, *ada tavušan* ‘hare’, *kirpi* ‘hedgehog’, *tavušan* ‘hare; rabbit’, *gelinčik* ‘weasel or mole’, *sičan* ‘rat’, *sivri sičan* ‘common shrew’, *qoyun* ‘sheep’, *čekirtkä* ‘locust’, *jurjuri* ‘cricket’, *kaplı bağa* ‘turtle’, *güneş kelerisi* ‘a kind of lizard’, *yıldız kelerisi* ‘a kind of lizard’, *kertenkelesi* ‘lizard’. Among these Turkic items, 16 of them show similarity to the Oghuzic forms or consist of Oghuzic features (70%), which usually exist in Crimean Tatar. These similarities sometimes show a phonological and morphological feature, e.g. *deve* ‘camel’, *sičan* ‘rat; mouse’ whereas they present specific Ottoman Turkish and Oghuzic words as well, e.g. *gelinčik* ‘weasel’, *ada tavušan* ‘hare’. Note that, there also exist 2 loanwords (7%), which probably have been acquired directly/indirectly by Ottoman Turkish, e.g. *šepere* (of Persian origin) ‘bat’ and *χinzir* ‘pig, swine’ (of Arabic origin). Among the Turkic words, 4 of them (17%) do not appear in any Turkic sources, e.g. *güneş kelerisi* ‘a kind of lizard’, *yıldız kelerisi* ‘a kind of lizard’, *kertenkelesi* ‘lizard’, *göz tökä* ‘chameleon’. Finally, there exist only 3 items (10%), which show the untranslated Biblical Hebrew words, e.g. *χazir* ‘pig; swine’, *χargol* ‘a kind of lizard’, *χagav* ‘a kind of lizard’.

Lev	Animal Species	The Gözleve Bible (1841)
3:1	cow; bull; cattle; ox	sığır
11:4	camel	deve
11:5	hare	ada tavušan
11:6	rabbit; hare	tavušan
11:7	pig; swine	çinzir
11:19	bat	şepere
11:22	cricket	jurjuri
11:29	weasel or mole	gelinçik
11:29	rat; mouse	sičan
11:29	turtle, tortoise	kaplı bağa
11:30	common shrew	sivri sičan
11:30	a kind of lizard	güneş kelerisi
11:30	a kind of lizard	yıldız kelerisi
11:30	lizard	kerten kelesi
11:30	a kind of lizard	göz tökä
14:24	sheep	koyun

Table 2. The Lev of the Göz. 1841 examples that are common in Oghuzic area

As Table 2 clearly shows, except for the word *sığır*, all the examples, which are common in Oghuzic area are from Chapters 11 (87%) and 14 (6%) whereas all the Kipchak counterparts appear in Chapters 3, 4, 5, 7, and 9, e.g. *ečki* ‘goat’, *qoy* ‘lamb’, *ulaq* ‘kid’, *koçkar* ‘ram’, *ögüz* ‘ox’, *bızov* ‘calf’. Therewithal, among the Biblical Hebrew words that have been denoted by the Oghuzic forms (including the Arabic/Persian loanwords that are common in Oghuzic area) in the Lev of the Göz. 1841, there exist 6 words that appear in the other Books of Torah as well. However, in other Books of the Göz. 1841, these words have been either denoted by the Kipchak Turkic forms or they have remained untranslated, similar to the Lev of CrKB examples (see, Table 3). Thence, the main reason for the Oghuzic–Kipchak mixed animal names is clearly related to the specific characteristics of Chapter 11 in the Lev of the Göz. 1841. This systematical difference most probably related to the different translators/compiler of the Göz. 1841 translation.

Animal Species (CEDHL)	Biblical Hebrew word	The Lev of the CrKB	Other Books of the Göz. 1841	The Lev of the Göz. 1841
camel	גָּמַל [gamal]	11:4, devä	Gen 24:11, Exo 9:3, Deut 14:7, tüyā	11:4, deve
hare	אַרְנֶבֶת [arnebet]	11:6, koyan	Deut 14:7, koyan	11:6, tavušān
pig; swine	חֲזִיר [ḥazir]	11:7, doḡuz	Deut 14:8, doḡuz	11:7, ḡinzir
bat	עֵטֶלֶף [‘atalef]	11:19, yarkānat	Deut 14:13, yarkānat	11:19, šepere
lamb	כֶּבֶשׂ [kebeš]	5:6, koy	Num 6:12, Exo 29:38, koy	14:24, koyun
chameleon	תִּנְשֵׁמֶת [tinšemet]	11:30, tinšemet	Deut 14:16, tinšemet	11:30, göz tōkā

Table 3. The comparison of the other Books of the Göz. 1841

Abbreviations

Bible Translations

ASV = American Standard Version

AKJV = American King James Version

BSB = Berean Study Bible

BST = Brenton Septuagint Translation

CSB = Christian Standard Bible

DRB = Douay-Rheims Bible

ESV = English Standard Version

ISV = International Standard Version

JB2000 = Jubilee Bible 2000

KJB = King James Bible

NASB = New American Standard Bible

NIV = New International Version

NLT = New Living Translation

WBT = Webster’s Bible Edition

YLT = Young’s Literal Translation

Biblical Books

Deut = Deuteronomy

Exo = Exodus

Gen = Genesis

Lev = Leviticus

Num = Numbers

Languages

Az. = Azerbaijani

CrTat. = Crimean Tatar

Fr. = French

Hun. = Hungarian

It. = Italian

Kaz. = Kazakh

Kir. = Kirghiz

OEng. = Old English

Tat. = Tatar

Trk. = Turkmen

Tur. = Turkish

Manuscripts and Fragments of the Lev of CrKB

Baxč. 116 = It is held in the Russian National Library, copied in the 18th century. It contains fragments of the Pentateuch (Exodus 26–40, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy), three books of the Five Scrolls (the Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations), and some Psalms (1–19, 22–37, 55–57, 69–89). Only a few available leaves were employed in the Lev of the CrKB: Lev 3:10–4:7, 5:23–6:7, 8:36–10:4, 15:30–16:8.

BSMS 288 = It is in the Cambridge University Library (among the holdings of the British and Foreign Bible Society) in four volumes; volume I – 203 text leaves (Pentateuch and Five Scrolls), volume II – 144 text leaves (Former Prophets), volume III – 155 text leaves (Latter Prophets), and volume IV – 118 text leaves (Writings), contains the whole Tanakh without Chronicles. In CrKB, only the volumes I and IV have been included as the basic manuscript.

Evr I 143 = The available fragments consist Lev 1:1–15 and Lev 16:4–5.

Other Abbreviations

3SG = third person singular

dim. = diminutive

lit. = literally

onom. = onomatopoeic

POSS = possessive marker

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The Names of Professions in Historical Turkic Languages of the Crimea

Henryk Jankowski

The aim of this paper is to provide names of professions evidenced in the historical Turkic languages of the Crimea such as Kuman, Crimean Tatar, Karaim, Urum, Krymchak and Turkic loanwords in Nor-Nakhichevan Armenian. The material discussed is excerpted from direct sources which provide the names of professions in their social context and from indirect sources such as dictionaries, glossaries and lists of surnames and nicknames. The profession names do not include titles and names of services at the Khan court and local rulers, military ranks, and religious services. The article focuses on the social and cultural background of professions rather than on linguistic questions of the formation of profession names.

1. General remarks

The name of a profession can be firmly established only from a direct source which shows it in its vocational context. Such sources are limited, especially for historical stages of the development of a Turkic language. It is often the case that the name of a profession becomes a nickname and later a surname. Even if identified correctly, the relationship to its holder is clear only when the factual circumstances are known. Therefore, the corpus of surnames which can later become names of habitation places is useful for the study of social and cultural contexts in a limited way.

In the case of a family, the memory of the relationship of a profession name to its holder may be known for a few generations, but with the course of time this knowledge normally disappears. A certain *Smith* may not necessarily know if one or more of his forefathers were really smiths.

If the factual background is unknown, the interpretation of a surname which covers a profession name is difficult. It is possible that somebody who holds the name *Amamġi* 'bath keeper' had an ancestor who really was a bath owner, bath attendant or bath employee, but it is also possible that he was called so because his inclination or other relation to the bath. The situation is identical with almost all names, e.g. an Urum man called *Tülanġi* 'shop keeper' could receive this name, because he liked shopping or worked for shops.

Another question is the range of possible relations of a name holder to his name. As Erdal (1991: 113) stressed, *oqčī* may be both ‘archer’ and ‘arrow maker’. *etikčī* can be a craftsman who makes shoes, repairs or both, though the translation ‘shoemaker’ is satisfactory because of its English meaning. In a similar way, *baliqčī* can denote ‘fisher’ who fishes for a living or a dealer or merchant who buys and sells fish.

2. Names of professions in Old Turkic

In his article on the names of professions in Old Turkic, Aydın (2008) discusses fifteen names evidenced in Runic inscriptions. Most of them are derived from nouns and action nouns or verbal nouns with the suffix +čI, one with the suffix -IGmA, one with -čI,¹ and one is an Iranian loanword. Two of these words, *bitigčī* ‘scribe’ and *otačī* ‘healer; doctor’ (Aydın 2008: 54–55, 56), are found in the Crimean Turkic historical documents and the Turkic languages of the Crimea. In her lexical study on Orkhon and Uighur inscriptions, User (2010: 281–283) lists nineteen names, though some are not exactly profession names, e.g. *sü*² and *čärig* ‘army’, and some others are debatable. Erdal (1991) does not discuss names of professions separately, but he discusses the suffixes which form them in a wide perspective. Thus, the suffix +čI regarded as functional and deriving humans is in Erdal’s (1991: 110) opinion so productive that it is impossible to cite all its derivatives. As we can see from Erdal’s examples, most profession names later documented in the Crimea have been evidenced already in Old Turkic, e.g. *altunčī* ‘goldsmith’, *aščī* ‘cook’, *avčī* ‘hunter’, *baliqčī* ‘fisher’, *käyikčī* ‘wild game hunter’, *oqčī* ‘archer; arrow maker’, *oyunčī* ‘player’, *qapayčī* ‘doorkeeper’, *qoñčī* ‘shepherd’, *quščī* ‘wildfowler’, *tämirčī* ‘blacksmith’, *yultuzčī* ‘he who predicts the future from stars’ (Erdal 1991: 111–113).

The vocabulary related to profession names is poorly documented in the comparative lexicology by Tenišev (1997). There are only a few words of this type related to music, songs and poetry: *qobuzčī* ‘musician (who plays a stringed instrument)’, *qoša:nčī* and *qoša:qčī*, ‘poet; singer of folk songs’ (Tenišev 1997: 613), *u:za:n* ‘singer; singer of folk songs’ (Tenišev 1997: 613) as well as *yırayu* and *yırčī* ‘singer of tales; poet’ (Tenišev 1997: 612).

1 This suffix derives *otačī* ← *ota-* ‘to treat with herbs’. However, this derivate is unique and all others OT +čI formations are derived from nominal stems. Therefore, it may be argued that the original form was *otayčī* → *otačī*. In Turkish, this suffix derives words also from verbs, e.g. *okuyucu* ‘reader’ ← *oku-* ‘to read’, but this must have happened after the change -Xy → -I, i.e. probably *yazuğcı* → *yazıcı* ‘scribe, writer’.

2 Though see OT *süčī* ‘warrior’ (Erdal 1991: 110).

3. Names of professions in the Turkic languages of the Crimea

3. 1. Names of professions registered in Crimean habitation names

This source is indirect, for a habitation name which is identical or contains a profession name does not demonstrate it directly. In addition, some names of this kind are evidenced in a distorted or phonetically adapted form which makes the identification and etymology problematic. Jankowski (2006: 57) has shown more than thirty habitation names rooted in the names of professions. As he stressed, some names of this kind are related to such traditional activities as hunting, *avğî* 'hunter', *čegirčî* 'falconer', *quščî* 'wildfowler' and *qaraquščî* 'falconer who trains and keeps eagles'; horse and cattle breeding, *aqtačî* 'stable-lad', *buzavčî* 'calf-herdsman', *yılqıgî* 'herdsman of horses; horseman', *tarpančî* 'one who catches wild horses' and *tüyečî* 'camel driver; camel owner'; and some to agricultural activities, *bayčî* 'grape grower' and *sabančî* 'ploughman, tiller; farmer', and related services, e.g. *dermenği* 'miller'. The profession name *bavurčî* 'butler; cook' was said to be related to the services at a ruler's court, but its cultural background in the Crimea is unknown; see, however, the same word in CC in the form *bayırčî*. There are also profession names showing handicrafts and the making of weapons, tools and everyday equipment, e.g. *altınğî* 'goldsmith', *bulatčî* 'steel worker', *čuyunču* 'iron caster, moulder', *demirği* 'blacksmith', *qazančî* 'cauldron maker', **bozteričî* 'hide and leather dealer; tanner', *könčî* 'hide and leather dealer', **savurčî* 'hide manufacturer; leather manufacturer' *teričî* 'leather manufacturer', *qaymačî* 'somebody who embroiders', *eyerčî* 'saddler', *ğayčî* 'bow maker', *sadaqčî* 'bow or quiver maker', *tuzaqčî* 'snarer' as well as *oqču* 'arrow maker', *čeşmeği* 'constructor of fountains, wells', *ğaraqčî* (or *čirraqčî*) 'armourer (or producer of lamps)' and *toyunču* 'wheelwright; wheeler'.

As is seen, all these names are derived with the suffix +ČI and there is only one name without it of Arabic origin, *baqal* 'grocer'.

3. 2. Names of professions registered in Codex Cumanicus

There are many profession names in CC, especially in some sections, e.g. starting with 40v *Nomina arcium (=artium) et que pertinent eis, Hec continentur de spetiario et spetiaria*, and the subsequent sections (Drimba 2000: 88–95). Some words in this Latin–Persian–Kuman glossary are glossed identically in Persian and Kuman, especially those of Arabic and Persian origin, e.g. Lat. *bancherius* 'banker; money changer' is *saraf* (40v) in both Persian and Kuman, and Lat. *merzarius* 'merchant' is *çarčî* and *çarčî* (44r), respectively.

Here is a list of profession names excerpted from Grønbech's (1942) Kuman dictionary, henceforth G: *altunčî* 'goldsmith' (CC 84, G 36), *astlančî* 'reseller' (CC 87, G 43), *bayırčî* 'cook' (CC 12, G 47), *baluqčî* 'fisher' (CC 43, G 49), *baqčačî* 'gardener' (CC 89, G 49), *bazargan* 'merchant; trader' (CC 87, G 66), *bitikčî* 'scribe' (CC 80, 50, G 61), *boyačî* 'dyer' (CC 54, G 63), *bör[k]čî* 'hatter' (CC 84, G

36), *bīḥaḡčī* ‘knife maker’ (CC 87, G 71), *čekmenčī* ‘cloak maker’ (CC 127, G 74), *čerčī* ‘small vendor’ (CC 87, 164, G 74), *čīyriḡčī* ‘turner’ (CC 89, G 78), *derzi* ‘tailor’ (CC 85, G 83), *etikčī* ‘shoemaker’ (CC 86, G 96), *etmekčī* ‘baker’ (CC 88, G 96), *eyerčī* ‘saddler’ (CC 87, G 85), *ḡakim* ‘physician, doctor’ (CC 125, G 99), *iščī* ‘workman’ (CC 164, G 108), *īrčī* ‘singer’ (CC 89, G 274), *kütövčī* ‘shepherd’ (CC 122, G 160), *miyančī*³ ‘middleman’ (CC 87, 91, G 164), *oḡčī* ‘arrow maker’ (CC 89, G 174), *oyīnčī* ‘musician; entertainer’ (CC 89, G 175), *otačī* ‘physician, doctor’ (CC 87, G 180), *qasap* ‘butcher’ (CC 87, G 195), *qobuzčī* ‘musician; lute player’ (CC 89, G 198), *qošīčī* ‘writer; poet’ (CC 131, G 201), *sabančī* ‘ploughman; farmer’ (CC 130, G 210), *saraf* ‘banker; money changer’ (CC 80, G 214), *satuxčī* ‘seller’ (CC 91, G 215), *širačī* ‘wine trader’ (CC 87, G 230), *talal* ‘middleman, broker’ (CC 87, G 233), *tegirmenčī* ‘miller’ (CC 35, G 239), *temirčī* ‘blacksmith’ (CC 84, G 240), *tolmač*, *tilmač* ‘interpreter’ (CC 90, 121, 123, 125, G 248) *yalčī* ‘day labourer’ (CC 164, G 111), *yaḡčī* ‘arc maker; archer’ (CC 89, G 114), *yaryučī* ‘judge; mayor’ (CC 125, 126, 90, G 115), *yulduzčī* ‘astronomer’ (CC 130, G 128), *yügenčī* ‘reins maker’ (CC 87, G 130) and *yülüčī* ‘barber’ (CC 86, G 131).

As is evident, most of these words are listed in the initial part of *Codex Cumanicus* (1–110 or ff. 1–55) attributed to Italian monks. According to Ligeti (1986: 513), this dictionary does not have any religious character and was composed for practical and commercial purposes. The following names are included in the second part (CC 119–164 or ff. 56–82) composed by German missionaries: *čekmenčī*, *ḡakim*, *iščī*, *kütövčī*, *qošīčī*, *sabančī*, *yalčī* and *yulduzčī*, but some of them occur in both parts. Since the glossary compiled by Italian monks was intended for practical use, we can suppose that the professions included in it really existed and were not coined just to match Latin terms. As for the forms, the overwhelming majority of the words listed are derived with the Turkic suffix +čī and only the following Arabic and Persian loanwords are without this suffix: *bazargan*, *derzi*, *ḡakim*, *qasap*, *saraf*, *tala*⁴ and the international word *tolmač* ~ *tilmač* of debated origin.

As for the professions, there are quite many related to commerce, e.g. *astlančī*, *bazargan*, *čerčī*, *miyančī*, *satuxčī*, *širačī*, *talal*. There are some names denoting craftsmen, e.g. *altunčī*, *bör[k]čī*, *bīḥaḡčī*, *čīyriḡčī*, *etikčī*, *eyerčī*, *oḡčī*, *temirčī*, *yaḡčī* and *yügenčī*. Another type, similar to the preceding one, are the names for common services, e.g. *baḡīrčī*, *boyačī*, *čekmenčī*, *etmekčī*, *ḡakim*, *otačī*, *qasap*, *saraf*, *tegirmenčī*, *tolmač* ~ *tilmač*, *yaḡčī*, *yaryučī*, *yülüčī* ‘barber’ and probably *bitikčī* and *yulduzčī*, in addition to *iščī* and *yalčī*. A few names designate people active in arts: *īrčī*, *oyīnčī*, *qobuzčī* and *qošīčī*. Naturally some names can designate both activities for personal or family use and services done for a living, e.g. *baluḡčī*, *baḡčačī*, *kütövčī* and *sabančī*.

³ Grönbech (1942: 164) *mijančī*.

⁴ The word *šeriyat* ‘judge’ (G 230) for Lat. *consul*, Per. equivalent in the dictionary being *chadī* (Drimba 2000: 95), i.e. *cadi*, is ignored for it is probably a mistake for *šeriyatčī*.

There are also some terms denoting military ranks and names of official dignitaries, known from later chancellery documents, e.g. *basqaq* ‘governor; in Latin *rector*’ (CC 46, G 52) and *bögevül* ‘bailiff’ (CC 90, G 62),⁵ cf. *bökevül*, below.

3. 3. Names of professions in historical Crimean Tatar

Unfortunately, most of hitherto published documents contain the names of titles and posts in the khan’s and local rulers’ services which are not the subject of this article. The number of the names of posts and ranks of this kind is high. It is enough to read the first document of the Khanate chancellery issued by Haji Gerey Khan in 1453 where we find more than twenty items: *anbarčī* ‘stock keeper’, *bitkeči* ‘scribe’, *bökevül* ‘steward’,⁶ *čaydavul* ‘guard, sentinel; informer, spy’,⁷ *čerbi* ‘quartermaster’, *daruya* ‘governor, high-ranking official’,⁸ *elči* ‘messenger’, *kemiči* ‘ship controller’, *köprüči* ‘bridge supervisor’, *parsči* ‘leopard hunter’, *qabaqči* ‘doorman; gate overseer’, *qalanči* ‘*qalan* tax-collector’, *qaravul* ‘sentry, guard, watchman’, *quščī* ‘wildfowler’, *tamyači* ‘seal keeper’, *tartnaqči* ‘weigher’, *totqavul* ‘postal relay inspector’,⁹ *yaftači* ‘?searcher’, *yasaqči* ‘*yasaq* tax collector’, *yolavči* ‘envoy’, *yürütüči* ‘runner’, in addition to various Arabic, such as *muftī* ‘mufti’, *muderris* ‘teacher’, *kāzī* ‘judge’, and Persian, such as *bāzargān* ‘merchant’, loanwords (Kurat 1940: 64–75, 173–184).

It must be noted that the Khan’s chancellery, its scribes and secretaries should not be regarded as something exclusively Crimean. Firstly, the Crimean Khanate encompassed vast territories outside the Crimea, was rooted in the Golden Horde tradition, and the language of early documents is influenced by Khwarezmian Turkic.

3. 3. 1. Names encountered in Cadi records

Cadi records are a valuable source for the study of the material culture of the Crimean Khanate. There are many names of professions in them, but unfortunately all remain unedited. In an unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stefaniak-Rak (2011: 123–128) demonstrated the following ones from volume 10 written between 1666 and 1669/1670: *aşçı* ‘cook’, *bağkāl* ‘grocer’, *bāzargān* ‘merchant, trader’, *debbāğ*

5 Grønbech (1942: 62) reads this word as *boyavul* which must be incorrect. In CC, it is written *Bogaul* and its Persian equivalent is *Tataul* (Drimba 2000: 95), evidently Mongol *totqavul*, see *totqavul*, below, for the semantic difference between CC *bögevül* and Mongol-Turkic *bökevül*, see Vášáry (2009: 8–9).

6 This word is variously explained (Kurat 1940: 70–71), for a comprehensive study on this word, derived from an unattested Mongol stem **böke-*, see Vášáry (2009); it is unknown if *bökevül* is related to CC *boyavul*, see above.

7 For this Mongol word see Lessing (1960: 159); it is derived from the verb *čayda-* ‘to keep watch, patrol’.

8 This Mongol term has the same etymology as Turkic *basqaq* and denotes an officer of a similar function (Vášáry 1978: 205), more for *daruya*, see Vášáry (1976).

9 For this Mongol word derived from an unattested verb **todqa-*, see Vášáry (2009: 4).

‘tanner’, *demirci* ‘blacksmith’, *elekçi* ‘sieve maker and seller’, *etmekçi* ‘baker’, *ḥammāmī* ‘bath keeper’, *ḥekīm* ‘physician, doctor’, *gümüşçi* ‘silversmith’, *ḥelvāci* ‘halva maker’, *kahveci* ‘coffee maker; keeper of a café’, *kapıcı* ‘doorkeeper’, *kaşşāb* ‘butcher’, *kuyumci* ‘goldsmith’, *kürkçi* ‘furrier’, *mumci* ‘candle maker and seller’, *müderriis* ‘teacher at a religious school’, *na’lçeci* ‘farrier’, *odabaşı* ‘concierge’, *oğçı* ‘arrow maker and seller’, *sarrāc* ‘saddler’, *taşcı* ‘mason’, *terzi* ‘tailor’, *tüccār* ‘merchant; trader’, *usta* ‘master’, *yasağçı* ‘watchman’, *yazıcı* ‘scribe’ and *yılķıcı* ‘herdsman of horses’.

It must be kept in mind that the court system, but especially the *cadi* office, was modelled on the Turkish pattern and the language of records was Ottoman Turkish. Although simpler than the language of *cadi* records in the mainland of Turkey, it followed the Turkish style and contained identical formulae and expressions and was characterised by the predilection for the use of Arabo-Persian words. Therefore, instead of the normal spoken form *hamamcı* we find the Arabic equivalent *ḥammāmī* ‘bath keeper’.

3. 3. 2. Names registered in documents issued by Khan’s chancellery and the local rulers

The following short list was compiled from the index to Véliaminof-Zernof (and Feiz-Khanof)’s edition of the documents by Atasoy (2017b) and checked with volume I (Atasoy 2017a) which contains the transcription of the documents:¹⁰ *arabaçı* ‘carter’ (A 1, 387; A 2, 79), *atçı* ‘horse breeder or cavalryman’¹¹ (A 1, 678; A 2, 92), *avçı* ‘hunter’ (A 1 666; A 2, 94), *balıkçı* ‘fisher’ (A 1 666; A 2, 114), *bāzargān* ‘merchant, trader’ (A 1, 99; A 2, 132), *kādī* ‘cadi; judge’ (A 540), *karavul* ‘guard, watchman’ (A 1, 262; A 2, 560), *karçıgaçı* ‘falconer’ (A 1, 164; A 2, 560), *koycı* ‘shepherd’ (A 1, 99; A 2, 642), *kuşçı* ‘wildfowler’ (A 1, 387; A 2, 665), *mülhıkçı* ‘rifleman’ (A 1 390; A 2, 724), *sevdāger* ‘merchant, trader’ (A 1 672; A 2, 894), *şunkarçı* ‘falconer’ (A 1 140; A 2, 954), *tācir* ‘merchant, trader’ (A 1 843; A 2, 965), *tılmaç* ‘interpreter’ (A 1, 748; A 2, 1011), *tuvarcı* ‘cowherd’ (A 1, 99; A 2,

¹⁰ Véliaminof-Zernof (Vel’jaminov-Zernov)’s publication (Moulla Husseïn Feiz-Khanof’s name who has copied the documents in the Russian State Archive in Moscow is mentioned by the publisher only in the foreword) was published in 1864 (Véliaminof-Zernof 1864) and recently reprinted by Özyetgin and Kamalov (2009). The 1864 edition contains copies of 378 documents and indices, all in Arabic script. Out of 378, 67 documents are related to the Polish court (Kołodziejczyk 2011: 246). 11 original documents contained in Véliaminof-Zernof (1864) have been recently published in transcription, English translation and comments by Kołodziejczyk (2011). There are many small differences between Kołodziejczyk’s and Atasoy’s reading. In contrast to Atasoy who transcribed and commented on a printed publication, Kołodziejczyk worked with the original documents and solved many specific questions. Despite this Atasoy’s edition is used, for it contains an index of all words (except for those ignored or not understood by Atasoy) which is helpful at work. The documents edited are diversified, most of them are diplomatic letters, but there are also financial reports on gifts and tributes.

¹¹ The context of the document does not make clear if it was the term for a horse breeder, herdsman or cavalryman.

994),¹² *tuzçı* ‘salt dealer’ (A 1, 777; A 2, 1039), *yazıcı* ‘scribe’ (A 1 236; A 2, 1146), *yılķıcı* ‘herdsman of horses’ (A 1 666; A 2, 1157).

Some persons mentioned in the documents who held these names of professions were not Tatars, but Ukrainians, Poles, Russians and others.

Note that the number of the names of official ranks and dignitaries is much higher, e.g. *ahtaçı* ‘stable-lad’ (A 41), *baķısı* ‘secretary; counsellor’ (A 111), *cebeçi* *başı* ‘main armourer’ (A 229–230) or *yasavul* ‘guard’¹³ (A 1, 295; A 2, 1139).

3. 4. Names of professions used by the Karaims

Crimean Karaim lexicon is well studied and can be found in dictionaries, e.g. KRPS i.e. Baskakow, Zajaczkowski and Szapszał (1974), and AJ i.e. Aqtay and Jankowski (2015). However, new text editions bring to light new words, e.g. *kürägäji* ‘cup-bearer’, so far evidenced only in Chaghatai as كورگاجى , i.e. *körägäçi* ‘échanson’ (Courteille, Pavet de 1870: 466), derived from *körägä*, known in a few Turkic languages in various forms and meanings (Jankowski et al. 2019: xxii).

3. 4. 1. Profession names in Karaim surnames

Lists of Karaim names are provided in KRPS and AJ, see also an early study by Vajsenberg (1913) which will be used at the discussion of Krymchak surnames. The following names originated from the names of professions: *Arabacı* (KRPS 675, AJ 487) ‘carter or cartwright’, *Attar* (KRPS 675, AJ 487) ‘pharmacist, druggist’, *Ayvaz* (KRPS 675, AJ 487) ‘man servant in the kitchen’,¹⁴ *Balcı* (KRPS 675, AJ 487) ‘dealer in honey’, *Baqqal* (KRPS 675, AJ 487) ‘grocer’, *Çoref*, from Hebrew צורף (KRPS 679, AJ 487) ‘goldsmith’, *Derzi* ~ *Terzi* (AJ 487, 489) ‘tailor’, *Ekmekçi* (KRPS 680) ‘baker’, *Hallaç* (KRPS 679, AJ 487) ‘cotton or wool fluffer’, *Hamal* (KRPS 675, AJ 488) ~ *Hammal* (KRPS 679) ‘porter’, *Kiyikçi* (KRPS 676) ‘wild game hunter’, *Maqsımacı* ‘boza maker or seller’ (KRPS 677, AJ 488), *Mehaneci* (KRPS 677, AJ 488) ‘inn attendant’, *Qabaqçı* (KRPS 676, AJ 488) ‘doorkeeper’,¹⁵ *Qalfa* (KRPS 676, AJ 488) ‘assistant master; (qualified) workman’, *Qalpaqçı* (in KRPS 676 *Qalpaqçı*) ‘hatter’, *Qapucı* ‘doorkeeper’ (KRPS 677), *Qazaz* (AJ 488) ~ *Qazas* (KRPS 676) ‘silk manufacturer’, *Qoyçu* ‘shepherd or dealer in sheep’, (KRPS 677, AJ 488), *Rofe*, from Hebrew רופא (KRPS 678, AJ 489) ‘physician, doctor’, *Sa’atçı* (AJ 489) ~ *Saatçı* (KRPS 678) ‘watchmaker’, *Saqızçı* (AJ 489) ~ *Sakisçi*

12 Atasoy (2017a: 99) reads this word as *tavarçı* and glosses as ‘the owner of animals, breeder of flock, the owner of livestock’, while Kołodziejczyk (2011: 770, 774) reads it *tuvarçı* and glosses as ‘cowherd’; Kołodziejczyk’s reading and interpretation is correct, for this word just follows *koyçı* ‘shepherd’ and they designate different animals in livestock.

13 The meaning of this Mongol word, in Mong. *jasavul*, is ‘arbitrator, referee, umpire, judge; sentry, guard’ (Lessing 1960: 1040).

14 This word needs further study, since in Krymchak texts it occurs in the meaning similar to its Turkish cognate *ıvaz*, i.e. ‘reward’ (İanbay and Erdal 1988: 37, İanbay 2016: 18).

15 See, however, the following Tur. words and meanings: I *kabakçı* ‘pumpkin grower and seller’ (TS 1018) II *kabakçı* ‘1. man serving hashish. 2. player of the gourd-shaped guitar’ (TIRS 572).

(KRPS 678) '(chewing) gum manufacturer', *Saraç* (KRPS 678, AJ 489) 'saddler', *Saraf* (KRPS 678, AJ 489) 'banker, money changer', *Sarıban* (KRPS 678, AJ 489) '1. camel-driver. 2. baggage man in a caravan', *Sikezan* (KRPS 678, AJ 489) ~ *Sikazan* (KRPS 678) ~ *Sikka-zan* (KRPS 678) 'coiner in a mint', *Şekerci* (KRPS 680, AJ 489) 'sugar producer or dealer', *Telal* (KRPS 679, AJ 489) 'middleman; peddler' and *Yazıcı* (KRPS 675, AJ 489) 'scribe'.¹⁶

As can be seen, the professions practised by the Karaims, as suggested by these surnames, were differentiated, mostly crafts and services.

Some names are not quite clear, e.g. *Qılcı* (KRPS 677, AJ 488) which can denote somebody making brushes of bristle, and *Yekmekçi* (KRPS 675). There are also surnames of Hebrew origin that denote holders of posts at the Karaim congregation, such as *Gabbay* ~ *Gabay* 'treasurer' (AJ 488) and *Şammaş* ~ *Şamaş* 'caretaker' (AJ 489).

3. 4. 2. Profession names found in two 18th-century financial documents

These documents are registers of payments made by the Karaims to the Khan. They contain both the words denoting dignitaries in Khan's service and those of common services. The number of professions of the latter type is low: *demirci* 'blacksmith' (Jankowski 2009: 31), *doğramacı* 'joiner' (Jankowski 2009: 30), *dülger* 'carpenter' (Jankowski 2009: 29), *qalfa* 'assistant master; (qualified) workman' (Jankowski 2009: 28), *qazaz* 'silk manufacturer' (Jankowski 2009: 28), *sikezan* 'coiner in a mint' (Jankowski 2009: 29) and *taşçı* 'mason', (Jankowski 2009: 29).

Note that some of these professions were practised by non-Karaim masters, basically Crimean Greeks and Armenians, which is clear from their names, e.g. *Tamyanos ağa*.

3. 4. 3. Profession names listed in a manuscript copied by İçhaq Qoyçu in the latter half of the 19th century

This is a list written in the form of a table in a manuscript of the *mejuma* type, copied probably in 1895, reproduced by Jankowski (2013: 251). The names shown here in alphabetic order are the following: *ağaççı* 'timber dealer; carpenter', *altıncı* 'goldsmith', *bağçacı* 'gardener', *balıqçı* 'fisher', *baltacı* 'woodcutter', *baqırcı* 'coppersmith', *berber* 'barber', *beşikçi* 'cradle maker', *bostancı* 'vegetable gardener', *boyacı* 'dyer', *bündar* 'seller of precious stones', *camcı* 'glazier', *çalgıcı* 'musician, instrumentalist or luthier', *çilengir* 'locksmith', *çizmeci* 'bootmaker', *çoban* 'shepherd', *çorapçı* 'hosier; stocking maker', *çotçı* 'hammer maker; carpenter', *çubuqçı* 'pipe maker or rod fixer', *davulcu* 'drummer', *doğramacı* 'joiner', *doroşkeci* 'coachman', *dülger* 'carpenter', *egerci* 'saddler', *elekçi* 'sieve

¹⁶ A Karaim scribe who was called *yazıcı* as in Turkish, probably served Turkic clients and was proficient in Arabic script, since a Karaim scribe who copied religious manuscripts and kept congregation records would be called *sofer* from Hebrew סופר. However, this task was normally done by a *hazzan*.

maker', *fırıncı* 'baker', *gağrabarcı* 'amber dealer', *gemaneci* 'violinist', *gemici* 'sailor, mariner', *halaq* 'barber', *hamamcı* 'bath keeper', *hekim* 'physician, doctor', *hasap* 'butcher', *kebabçı* 'kebab maker and seller', *kireci* 'renter', *kireççi* 'lime burner', *kiremitçi* 'tile maker; roofer', *kömürcü* 'coal seller', *mumcu* 'candle maker and seller', *naqışçı* 'embroiderer', *pabuççu* 'shoemaker', *pıçaqçı* 'knife maker', *qalaycı* 'tinsmith', *qantarçı* 'weigher', *qayıqçı* 'boatman or shipwright', *qayışçı* 'leatherworker', *qurşavcı* 'hoop maker', *sabancı* 'ploughman, tiller, farmer', *sanduççu* 'chest maker', *sarafçı* 'banker, money changer', *sepici* 'tanner', *sernikçi* 'maker or seller of matches', *tabaḥ* 'tanner or cook', *taşçı* 'mason', *terlikçi* 'slipper maker', *tikici* 'tailor', *yılqıcı* 'horse herdsman', *zurnacı* 'clarinetist' (Jankowski 2013: 252–253).

Note that the word for a banker or money changer, known from other sources as *saraf*, is extended here with the suffix +çI as *sarafçı*. This list contains many specific names which do not occur in other sources examined. Therefore, the search for other similar lists in other *mejumas* can bring to life new words.

These words occur in the manuscript without any explanation, thus the meaning of some of them is a matter of conjecture. Some of these words are known from Old Turkic, Codex Cumanicus and charters granted by the Khan, but owing to the late period of industrialisation, their denotation may be different, e.g. *gemici* is most probably different than *kemiği*, see above.

In addition to the names derived with the suffix +çI and a few loanwords, the table provides two names of profession derived with the suffix +LIk, i.e. *cerahlıq* 'surgery', *delleklik* 'massage'.

3. 5. Names of professions used by the Krymchaks

The earliest Turkic Krymchak texts critically edited date to the beginning of the 20th century and they contain few profession names, e.g. three in a text from 1906: *bekçi* 'guard', *oraqçı* 'reaper' and *šeraatçı* 'judge' (Ianbay and Erdal 1988: 38, 45, 49) and in a text from 1907 *äkmäkçi* (with variants) 'baker', *saqağı* 'water carrier' and *satıği* 'seller' (Erdal and Ianbay 2000: 103, 131). An exception is a short text of Krymchak Obadiah copied probably in the middle of the 19th century, published in a transliteration by Shapira (2016) with the facsimile, but it does not contain names of profession.

In contrast to the Karaim surnames, there are only a few names of professions in Krymchak surnames. They were first studied by Vajsenberg (1913) who demonstrated the following ones: *Atar* 'pharmacist; druggist', **Baqşı* 'healer; doctor',¹⁷ *Demirği* 'blacksmith; dealer in iron',¹⁸ *Hekim* 'physician, doctor', *Qolpaqçı* 'hatter', *Quyumği* 'goldsmith', *Kürkçi* 'furrier', *Penerği* 'cheese maker or

¹⁷ This name was not glossed by Vajsenberg (1913: 398), while Pejsax (2005a: 20) provided the meaning 'gardener'; see *baḥşı* in Crimean Tatar, above.

¹⁸ Written *Демерджи* in both Vajsenberg and Pejsax; this word is absent from Pejsax's list, but it is present and glossed in the comments (2005a: 20).

dealer', *Saraç* 'saddler', *Saraf* 'banker, money changer', *Tavuççi* 'dealer in fowl' (Vajsenberg 1913: 398–399). This list was later updated by Pejsax (2005a: 19–20) who provided two additional profession names, but both in a corrupted form and one mistakenly explained: **Deriği* 'leather dealer'¹⁹ and **Qoyunğı* 'shepherd'.²⁰

Professions can also be revealed from Krymchak nicknames, e.g. *Arabağı* 'carter or cartwright', *Amamğı* 'bath attendant', *Balğı* 'dealer in honey', *Balıxçı* 'fisher', *Baqırğı* 'coppersmith', *Biberğı* 'dealer in pepper', *Boyağı* 'dyer', *Çoban* 'shepherd', *Damğı* 'roofer', *Ğamğı* 'glazier', *Kemanegı* 'violinist, fiddler', *Kömürğı* 'dealer in coal', *Qalayğı* 'tinsmith',²¹ *Tenekeğı* 'whitesmith', *Yuryanğı* 'quilter', see Pejsax (2005b: 22) who stresses that the Krymchak nicknames had not been studied before him.

Judging on this small corpus, the Krymchaks were active in quite many professions, mostly related to crafts and trade, but also arts, e.g. *kemanegı* and health service, e.g. *hekim*, and they shared many names with the Karaims and the Urums.

3. 6. Names of professions used by the Urums

The evidence of Urum is important, for this is a language of the Turkic-speaking Greek population of the Crimea who together with Greek-speaking Greeks (*Rumei*) were deported to the Azov region between Mariupol and Donetsk in 1779 (Garkavec 1999: 5). In the new territory, Urum was developing in relative isolation from other Turkic languages and roughly retained its shape that it had in the 18th century, although the whole dialect network from the Crimea was reshuffled after the resettlement (Garkavec 1999: 29).

The names of professions will be discussed on the basis of surnames excerpted from Garkavec's (2000) dictionary: *Arabağı* 'carter or cartwright' (Gar 52), *Balğı* 'dealer in honey' (Gar 78), *Balıxçı* 'fisher' (Gar 80), *Baxlağı* 'bean grower' (Gar 80), *Bazırdan* 'merchant, trader' (Gar 76), *Berber* 'barber' (Gar 95),²² *Biyeğı* 'mare breeder' (Gar 99), *Bostanğı* 'vegetable gardener' (Gar 112), *Bıçxığı* 'saw maker or sawyer' (Gar 125), *Çapçaxçı* 'cooper' (Gar 575), *Çiçekçi* 'florist' (Gar 586), *Çoban* 'shepherd' (Gar 586), *Çırlamağı* 'baker of flat, round, fat bread' (Gar 594), *Çörekçi* 'bun cook; cookie maker' (Gar 590), *Dareğı* 'tambourinist, drummer' (Gar 125), *Degermengı* 'miller' (Gar 164), *Xasap* 'butcher' (Gar 534), *Xavalğı* 'piper' (Gar 379), *Xoyanğı* 'hare hunter or breeder' (Gar 534), *Içkiğı* 'goat breeder' (Gar 204),²³ *Kemeneğı* 'violinist' (Gar 264), *Kemenğegı* 'fiddler' (Gar 264), *Köpekçi* 'dog

19 Written *Дереджи* (Pejsax 2005a: 20) and glossed as 'weigher' which is evidently wrong. In fact, this word can also read *dareğı* 'tambourinist; drummer', see the corresponding Urum surname, below.

20 Written *Қуянджи* (Pejsax 2005a: 20) and not glossed; note that the Krymchaks used both the word *qoy* and *qoyun* for 'sheep', but 'shepherd' was only *qoyğı*, at least as it can be evidenced in the dictionaries (e.g. Ianbay 2016: 167).

21 Written mistakenly *Кыалайджы*.

22 See Urum *berberğı* 'barber' (ibid).

23 There are two Urum homonyms I *içki* 'strong drink' and II *içki* 'goat' (ibid).

breeder' (Gar 273), *Kürkçi* 'furrier' (Gar 264), *Nalbat* 'farrier' (Gar 310), *Pastaği* 'porridge producer; grouts maker' (Gar 344), *Piteği* 'flat bread baker' (Gar 349), *Qalayği* 'tinsmith' (Gar 518), *Qatranği* 'pitch producer' (Gar 262), *Sepetçi* 'bag maker' (Gar 379), *Terzi* 'tailor' (Gar 468), *Tuvarçi* 'herder; herdsman' (Gar 446), *Tütanği* 'shop keeper' (Gar 379), *Yılxiği* 'horse herdsman' (Gar 256), *Zeytingi* 'dealer in olives or oiler' (Gar 190), *Zurnaği* 'clarinetist' (Gar 125).

Although the surnames provided above pertain to a relatively large field of meanings, most are related to the occupations traditionally practised by the Greeks such as agriculture, livestock breeding and animal training, e.g. *baxlaği*, *biyeği*, *bostanği* *çiçekçi*, *čoban*, *çoyanği*, *ičkiği*, *köpekçi*; crafts and services, e.g. *qalayği*, *qatranği*, *sepetçi*, *terzi*, *tuvarçi*, *tütanği*, *yılxiği*, *zeytingi*; kitchen, e.g. *çirlamaği*, *çörekçi*, *pastaği*, *piteği*; music, e.g. *dareği*, *çavalği*, *kemenegi*, *kemengeği*, *zurnaği*; as well as trading and selling the objects of their professional activities.

Many names of professions are also evidenced in the main body of Garkavec's (2000) dictionary as common nouns. Here are some examples from the initial part of this dictionary (letter A): *alayax* 'servant' (Gar 38), *altinği* 'goldsmith' (Gar 42), *amal* 'porter' (Gar 45), *ambarği* 'stock keeper' (Gar 45), *aşçi* 'cook' (Gar 72), *atçi* 'stable-lad; horse breeder' (Gar 62), *avği* 'hunter' (Gar 14), *ayvaz* 'servant in the kitchen' (Gar 28), *ayvanği* 'herdsmen; livestock breeder' (Gar 29), *aydavvğu* 'driver, carrier' (Gar 29) and *ayuşu* 'bear keeper and trainer' (Gar 33).

3. 7. Names of professions found in the surnames of Rostov-on-Don or Nor-Nakhichevan Armenians resettled from the Crimea

The Turkic language of Armenians deported from the Crimea in 1779 to the present-day Rostov-on-Don, unlike Armenian Kipchak from Poland and West Ukraine, is unknown. However, the Nor-Nakhichevan Armenian dialect contains many Turkic loanwords (Schütz 1976: 195) which is evident from Malxasyan's (2001) dictionary. Malxasyan indicated the Turkic origin of approximately 14% words, but as Jankowski (2016: 225) has proved, the real number of Turkic words is much higher, for Malxasyan (2001) did not indicate compounds and in many cases he did not identify Turkic words or attributed them to other languages.

Among them there are such words as *alayax* 'female servant, maidservant; chambermaid; friend' (M 9), also evidenced in Urum (Garkavec 2000: 38, Jankowski 2016: 228), *alt'unji* 'goldsmith' (M 10), *aşçi* 'cook woman' (M 16), *at'lə-xaravul* 'horseman, night watchman; body guard; policeman' (M 8), *avji* 'hunter', *arabaji* 'carter' (M 20) and many Arabic and Persian names probably borrowed via Turkic, e.g. *at't'ar* 'herbs seller; hawker, retailer' (M 8) and *ayvaz* 'servant' (M 13).

On the list of surnames appended by Malxasyan to his dictionary, the following are derived from the names of professions: *Ayvazyan* ← *ayvaz* 'servant' (M 194), *Berekçıyan* probably ← *börekçi* 'patty, pie baker' (M 195), *Čobanyan* ← *čoban*

‘shepherd’ (M 203), *Čörekčyan* ← *čörekçi* ‘bun cook; cookie maker’ (M 203), *Čubuxčyan* ← *čubuxçi* ‘rod fixer’²⁴ (M 203), *Demirčyan* ← *demirçi* ‘blacksmith’ (M 197), *Kaymakčyan* ← *qaymaqçi* ‘producer or seller of cream’ (M 197), *Xasabyan* ← *hasab* ‘butcher’ (M 202), *Sarafyan* ← *saraf* ‘banker; money changer’ (M 200), *Saxajıyan* ← *saxaği* ‘water carrier’ (M 200), *Taşčyan* ← *taşçi* ‘mason’ (M 200), *Topčıyan* ← *topçi* ‘cannoneer or cannon repairer, dealer’ (M 201) and *Torpujıyan* ← *törpücü* ‘rasper, iron worker, rasp producer’ (M 201).

These surnames show that the Crimean Armenians were active in different professions, including financial services, e.g. *saraf*; kitchen and cooking, e.g. *börekçi* and *čörekçi*; crafts, e.g. *demirçi* and *törpücü*; construction works, e.g. *čubuxçi* and *taşçi*; and selling, e.g. *hasab* and *qaymaqçi*. However, since the Armenians in the Crimea were very active in trade, commerce, crafts and services, they certainly used the corresponding Turkic profession names, as it is evident from the examples cited above. The study of the whole material included in Malxasyan’s (2001) dictionary will certainly extend our knowledge in this aspect.

Conclusion

As we can see from the relative richness of the terms for professions used in the past, the Crimea is one of the best documented territories of the Turkic world and therefore allows us for findings which are well based on written sources. Although the oldest Crimean Tatar documents perished, there are still many extant to study. Urum material is late, whereas Karaim is earlier, though some questions should be elucidated after the publication of old documents, despite the fact that they are of predominantly religious character. Krymchak and Armenian Turkic are even less known.

As can be seen from comparison, many names of professions are common in all sources and some go back to Old Turkic. There is some Mongol influence and, naturally, a strong Arabo-Persian impact. In later periods, the most important influence was coming from Turkey. The Karaims used some names of professions of Hebrew origin and the Krymchak certainly did the same, though this question should be examined.

From the names of professions used by the Turkic peoples in the Crimea we see the social and economic reality of the peninsula through Turkic languages. The Crimean Turkic languages were able to express new forms of professional activities and this ability existed across the whole Turkic history of the Crimea.

²⁴ Tur. *çubukçu* is the name of at least two professions: ‘1. maker or seller of pipe stems’ and 2. *hist.* servant in charge of smoking pipes’ (TIRS 262). Jankowski (2009: 30) has documented expenditures to *çubuk ören usta* ‘master who fixes rods’ at a construction site, thus this *çubukçu* can also stay for ‘rod fixer’.

Abbreviations

A 1 = Atasoy 2017a

A 2 = Atasoy 2017b

AJ = Aqtay and Jankowski 2015

CC = Codex Cumanicus, see Drimba 2000

G = Grønbech 1942

Gar = Garkavec 2000

KRPS = Baskakow, Zajączkowski and Szapszał (ed.) 1974

M = Malxasyan 2001

OT = Old Turkic

TIRS = Alkım, Antel and Avery (et al., ed.). 1991

TS = Akalın, Toparlı and Gözaydın (et al. ed.). 2005

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Joannes Lippa: Türkçe Hayvan Masalları

Mustafa S. Kaçalın

Fabulae Turcicae quas in Idioma Latinum Transtulit [Latince Tercümeli Türkçe Hayvan Masalları] Joannes Lippa. C. R. Academiae Linguarum Orientalium. Alumnus anno 1806, 2+31 yr. [Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára Keleti Gyűjtemény – Vámbéry Gyűjtemény Török Q. 60. Macar Bilimler Akademisi Kütüphanesi Doğu Derlemesi Vámbéry Á. derlemesinden]. (<http://vambéry.mtak.hu/hu/14-008.htm>). Karşılaştırma için kullanılan öbür eserler şunlardır: Aisopos [ö. İ. ö. 6. yy.]: *Masallar*: Çeviren: Nurullah Ataç. İstanbul 1945; *Güzide Masallar*, British Museum Or. 7332. sy.'dan Kut, Günay: “Yazmalar Arasında II”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları VII–VIII*: İstanbul 1988, 181–198., 193. s.; Beydeba: *Kelile ve Dimne*: Çevirenler: Hayreddin Karaman – Bekir Toplaoglu, İstanbul I. c. 1978, II. c. 1980.

1. Çırtlak¹ ile Karıncanın Vak’asıdır

Bir çırtlak bütün eyyâm-ı sayfi ötmek ile geçirüp kışa tedârik görmediğinden hengâm-ı şitâda zahîresiz kaldı. Anuñ bir karınca koñşusu var idi, ki yazdan sonra kış geleceğinden gâfil olmayup zahmet ile tedârikin görmüş idi. Çırtlak nâ-çâr olup birkaç dâne istemeğe vardı. Ve mahrûm çokdı. Karınca aña bahillik yüzden gösterüp eyitdi: “Ey benim hemşîrem, yazda işiñ ne idi. Ve zahîreñi ne têz düketdiñ?” dedikte • çırtlak aña cevâb vèrdi: “Yazdan hêç bir işe el ur[ma]dım. Ançak benim işim ötmek idi.” Karınca aña gülerek eyitdi: “Çün-ki işiñ yaz güninde ırlamak idi, şimdi dahı horonıñ depmek olsun.” déyü yüzine kapuyı kapadı.

*Bu aña temsîldir ki: ‘Akıllı âdam bu dünyâda dünyânıñ umûrına ol kadar tekayyüd eylemez ki gelecek zaman[ı] fikr êtmeyüp âhiret zahîresiniñ tedârikin görmeye.*²

1 cırlayık: toygar kuşu, çalı kuşu.

2 Aisopos: *Masallar*: 336, *Güzide Masallar*, 2.

2. Kurbağanın Çatladığı Hikâyetidir

Bir kurbağa öküzü bakup hased étdi. “Bu ne güzel hayvândır. Ne kadd ü bâlâsı vardır. Ben ne küçüğüm. Ben dahı ol büyüklüğe yetişeyim.” déyi ol murâd éde. Mağrûrlanup şişe şişe bir mikdâr öter, lâkin pek zahmet çeküp kendü[si]ye zor éder, ammâ çalışması fâyda étmeyüp muradına hasret kaldı. “Kıçıklığı n’eyleyeyim? Beni utandırur. Öküz gibi béyik olsam gerek. Biraz kendüme zor étdim. Âferin başa. Biraz dahı • şişeyim.” dedi. Ol kadar şişdi ki ‘âkıbet çatladı.

Bu anı temsilidir ki: Ba’zı kimesneler ziyâde hasedinden helâk olurlar.³

3. Kurduğun Çobân Olduğu Vak’asıdır

Bir sürünün çobânı ve köpeği uyurlarken bir kurt telbislik ile çobân kıyâfetine girer. Ve çalışır ki sürüyü ormana götüre. Gönlünden tédi: “Eğer sâzı çobâna benzerdür isem dahı eyü olur, ammâ benzetemeyüp telbîs • sâzı ile kendü[si]yi belâyâ uğratdı. Ve hem umudundan mahrûm kaldı. Kurduğun korkulu sâzı çobânı ve köpekleri uyandırdı. Ve kurt telbisliğini bildürdi. Fakîr kurt çobânın esvâbı ile kaçmağa kâdir olamayüp köpekler eteginden tutar ve derisin yırtar. ‘Âkıbet çobân dahı ardından yetişüp taş ile değenek ile ura ura öldürdi.

Bu anı misâldir ki: Münâfık âdama telbislik elbette bir hâl ile görünür. İkinci budur ki: Vay hâline, o çobânların ki çobân sûretinde hâyin yürekler ile kendileri ve gayırları cehenneme atarlar.⁴

4. Kurbağalar[ın] Bir Pâdişâh İstedikleridir

Kurbağalar aralarında cümle hükûmetlerini müşâvere édüp mahsûs bir pâdişâh olmaduğundan Müşterî’ye vardılar. Ondandır bir pâdişâh istediler. Müşterî onların dileğini kabûl édip göllerine bir kütük salı vérdi. “Size pâdişâh olsun.” dedi. Pâdişâhın göle düştüğünden çok şamâta édip • kurbağaları korkuttu. Bunlar korkusundan her biri bir deliğe girdi ve gizlendi. Bir zamândan sonra kurbağaların biri yüreklenip taşra çıkıp varıp pâdişâhın karşısında durur bakarak göz alıştır ve omuzuna biner sevirerek oynarlar. Öbür kurbağaları çağırıp seyrine getirdi. Cümlesi yaklaşp horlamak ile üzerine çıkdılar. İbtidâ varıp Müşterî’den pâdişâh isteyenler yine varıp şikâyet éttiler, dédiler ki: “Bize diktiğin pâdişâh nasıl pâdişâhdır, tomruktur. Bize hükm étmeye cânlı pâdişâh gerek.” dédiler. “Olsun, • cânlı göndereyim.” déyip kütüğün yérine turna gönderdi. Bu yeni pâdişâh kurbağaların çoğunu burnu ile yédi. Kurbağalar tekrâr şikâyete gelip feryâd éttiler: “Yâ Müşterî, bizim pâdişâhımız ne zâlimdir ki, bizi yéye yéye tüketip kökümüzü kesti.” dédiler.

³ *Güzide Masallar*, 3.

⁴ *Güzide Masallar*, 4.

Müşteri dedi ki: “Siz ne ile hoş olursunuz?” yoksa size her gün yeni pâdişâh [mı] göndereyim?” diye öküz gönderdi. Öküz kendi memleketinde şuraya buraya gezerken kurbağaların çoğunu bastı öldürdü. Anuñ ayağı altından halâs olanlar bir fitne kaynatıp Müşteri’ye vardılar. Müşteri gazab edip bunlara dedi ki: “Bu • alçakların şikâyetinden ne kadar zahmet çekerim. Evvelki mürüvvetli pâdişâhı istemediñiz, Üzeriñize bu kalır. Eğer bir gayrısını korsam evvelkilerden zâlim korum.”

Bu aña misâldir ki: Hâlimize şükr edelim. Ba’zı kerre tamah belâsıyla hâlimize kâyıl olmayıp daha beter zahmete düşeriz.⁵

5. Bir Köylünün Bülbül ile Geçen Mâcerâsıdır

Bir köylünün bir bînazîr bahçesi var idi. Türlü türlü meyveler ve çiçekler[le] donanmış idi. Cümleden bir gül fidanı var idi. Her sabâh üzerinde bir gül açılırdı. Ve köylü gelip anuñ seyri ile devâne gönlünü eğlendirirdi. Ve aña cân u gönjülden ‘âşık idi. Bir sabâh yine ‘âdeti üzre gülün ziyaretine geldi. Gördü, bir bülbül burnuyla gülün yapraklarını dağıtır. Bundan ziyâde elem çekip bülbülü öldürmeğe kasd etti. Bülbül uçu ve kaçtı. Ertesi sabâh yine geldikte yeniden açılan gülün üzerinde bülbülü evvelki hâl üzerine • gördü. Yine kaçırdı. Üçüncü gün yine evvelki hâl üzerine görünce gazab{ı} âteşi alevlenip bülbüle intikâm niyyetine tuzak kurdu. Ve tutup kafese koydu. Bülbül niyâz edip eyitti: “Muradın benim sesimi dinlemek ise benim yuvam seniñ bahçeniñ köşesinde idi, her gâh bîtekellüf dinlerdin. Tutup haps etmeğe ne hâcet?” dedi. Köylü “Gülün yaprağını perêşân ettiğinden ziyâde elem çektim.” dedi. Bülbül “âh!” edip dedi ki, “Ben gül yaprağını perêşân etmekle habs oldum. Sen ki gönlümü perêşân edersin. Hâlin néce olur?” dedi.

Bu aña misâldir ki: Bazı kişi bir âdama ta’zîr eder ki kendi[si] daha ziyâde müstehaktır.⁶

6. Toprak Tencere ile Demir Tencere Vak’asıdır

Demir tencere toprak tencereyi da’vet edip “Seyâhat ile gezelim, ‘âlemi seyrân edelim.” dedi. Toprak tencere geri çekilip “Olmaz. Ben gevrekim, olur olmaz şeyden kırılırım ve dağılırım. Sen kalk ki demirsin. Kolayı ile pâre pârelenmezsin ve saña zarar olmaz.” dedi. Demir tencere cevâbında der ki; “Sen dahı gel. Hêç korkma. Yolda öñümüze bir zararlı şey gelirse ben kendim karşılayıp araya gireyim.” dedi. Bu kaville ikisi berâber yola çıkarlar. Uçarak giderken bir birine çatıp toprak tencere çatlar ve pâre pâre olup dağılır. •

Bu aña misâldir ki: Senden büyük âdam ile ortaklık eyleme.⁷

⁵ Aisopos: *Masallar*: 66, Beybeda: *Kelile ve Dimne*: II. 97.

⁶ *Güzide Masallar*, 5.

7. Horozun İnci ile Vak'asıdır

Bir horoz toprağı eşerken bir inci bulur. “Ne eyleyeyim bunu?” dedi. “Mâli ve zîneti gönlüm istemez. Birkaç tâne ister. Bir incinin baña fâydası nedir? Bir inci kursakta erimez. Onu satayım, bahâsıyla alış veriş édeyim.” “Bulduğum inciyi saña véreyim, baña ne véirsin.” O dahı “Bir arpa véreyim.” dedi. Horoz “Benim dahı istediğim budur.” dedi. Bunun üzeri[si]ne pâzâr édip ikisi dahı râzî oldular.

Bu aña temsîldir ki: Bize fâydalı olan şeyi severiz ve tutarız. Fâydalı olmayan şeyi hêç sevmeyiz ve tutmayız.⁸ •

8. Bir Yarasa[nın] Gelincik ile Geçer Mâcerâsıdır

Bir yarasa bir gelinciğin yuvasına girmiş. Gelincik gazaba gelip “Sen cinsimizin yavuz hasmı olan yarasa olasın! Ne yüz ile, bizim evimize gelirsın?” Senden intikâm alayım. Tutayım, ekl édeyim!” dedi. Yarasa helâk sadedinde olup kendi[si]ni kurtarmak için “Be devletli, baña niçin darlırsın? Ben yarasa değilim. Hêç yarasaya beżemem. Kanatlarımdan bellidir ki ben su kuşuyum.” Bu söz ile korkulu yerden sağ kurtuldu. • Bir iki gün geçirdikten sonra gâfil yarasa bir gayrı gelinciğin dahı yuvasına geldi. Tekrâr korkulu yérde tutulup yine kendisini hîle ile kurtardı. Gelincik buña darılacak, yarasa dedi ki: “Ey gelincik, yavuzlanma bilirim senin kuşlarla ‘adâvetin çoktur, ammâ ben kuş değilim. Bak gör ki tüyüm yoktur.” dedi. Bu hîle ile ondan dahı kurtuldu, kaçtı.

Bu aña misâldir ki: Ba’zı âdam vardır ki türlü türlü kıyâfetlere girip tebdîl olur. Bu fend ile muhâtaralı yerlerden kurtulur. *İkinci fâydası budur ki:* Çok âdam var ki, sofuyla sofı maryol⁹ ile maryol olur. Her kişinin gönlünce hareket édip kendi râhatı için belli bir hâlde durmaz.¹⁰ •

9. Kedi ile Tavukların Mâcerâsıdır

Bir âdamın bir kedisiyle, birkaç tavukları var imiş. Kaçan tavuklarından birini tutmak isterse kaçarlardı. • Tutmak murâd éttikte ziyâde zahmet çeker imiş. Bu hâl kedi[ye] güç gelip. Tavuklara ta’n édip dér ki “Siz ne mekûrs[un]uz. Sizinle bir efendinin etmeğın yériz. Ben her zamân dizinde otururum, kaçmam. Beni okşar. Hêç kendi[si]ne zahmet vérmem, ammâ siz kaçarsınız. Tutmak istedikte zahmet çeker, hêç ‘aklınız yoktur.” dedi. Tavuklar dediler ki: “Akılsız kimdir, sen mi yoksa biz

7 Aisopos: *Masallar*: 351, *Güzide Masallar*, 6.

8 *Güzide Masallar*, 7.

9 ‘haydut’ Yazmada: mâryök.

10 Aisopos: *Masallar*: 251, *Güzide Masallar*, 8.

mi? Hêç sen kendi cinsini[ı] tavada büryân olduğunu gördün mü? ammâ biz her gün görürüz. Néce kaçmalayım.” dâdi.

Bu aya temsildir ki: Ba’zı âdam kendi kendi[si]ni cümlesinden ‘âkil sanır, ammâ haberi yok ki ‘âkilleriñ yanında hepsinden ahmadır.¹¹

10. Sıçan ile Arslan’ın Vak’asıdır

Bir gün ittifâk bir sıçan, gâfil deliğinden arslan’ın öñüne çıkar. Arslanı görünce buña dehşet el vârip titremeğe başlar ve arslana ricâ âdip “Lütf eyle. Beni öldürme. Âzâd eyle.” der. Arslan dahı anuñ ricâsını kabûl âdip âzâd âder. Birkaç • günden soñra avcılar’ın dâmına giriftâr olup beyhode halâsa çalışır. Fâyda âtmez. Sıçan arslan’ın bu hâlini görüp etek der-miyân âder. Gelir, dişleriyle tuzağ’ın bendlerini keser ve arslanı kurtarır.

Bu aya temsildir ki: Cümleye iyilik ve ihsân eyle. Eğer senden alçak olursa da bir gün gelir saña imdâdı dokunur. *İkinci fâydası budur ki:* Bir müne’’am âdam Allâhu ta’âlâ rızâsı için fukâraya sadaka eyleye Allâhu ta’âlâ birine on bel-ki yüz mükâfat âder.¹²

11. Keklik ile Bir Tavşan’ın Vak’asıdır

Bir keklik ile bir tavşan bir tarlada birbiriyle ülfet ve sohbet âderler. Bir gün bir avcı, bir alay köpek ile bunlarıñ izine düşüp kovalar. Tavşan ise ‘âdeti üzere kaçır, ammâ nâcâr olup tutulur. Ba’dehu cân ha[v]liyle çalışarak ve çabalayarak köpekleriñ ağzından kurtulur, ammâ gövdesi diş yarasından pâre pâre kana müstağrak ol hâlde refîkı olan keklik yanına gelir, hemen cân vârir. Keklik tavşan’ın bu yüzden • helâk olduğunu görücek onu istihzâ âdip seğırtip kaçmakta “Seniñ marifetiñ çok imiş.” dâdi. Ol mahalde köpekler dolaşırken kekliğ’ın üzerine uğradılar. Keklik uçup kelbleriñ hücumundan kolay kurtuldu. Amâ bir atmaca üzeri[si]ne zor ile gelip tutup öldürdü.

Bu aya misâldir ki: Kimseniñ musîbetini gülüp maskara âtmemek gerek. Bel-ki o belâ saña dahı gelir.¹³

¹¹ *Güzide Masallar*, 9.

¹² Aisopos: *Masallar*: 206, *Güzide Masallar*, 10.

¹³ *Güzide Masallar*, 11.

12. Sefere Giden Arslanın Vak'asıdır

Cânavarların pâdişâhı olan bir arslan sefere gitmek murâd etti. Ve cümle cânavarları çağırıp her birine mertebesine göre bir hizmet ta'yîn eyledi. Ve sefer mühimmâtını gördü. Ayının hizmeti yürüyüşte ileri gitmek idi. Maymûnuş işi o idi ki telbîslik ile düşmânları eylendire. Bu esnâda bir kimse arslana dâdi ki: “Eşek ile tavşanın sağa fâydası nedir? Ko yürüye ki gitsinler. Eşek ne kadar ahmaktır. Tavşan ise ziyâde korkaktır.” dedi. Arslan cevâb vârdi ki: “Onlardan ferâgat etmem. Eşek ağırdıkça mehter gibi düşmânları korku éder, ve ürkütür. Tavşan • dahı ulak. Emrlerimizi götürür. Bunun ikisinden dahı ferâgat etmem.” dâdi.

Bu aña misâldir ki: ‘Âkil olan pâdişâh kullarının en ednâsından bile hüsn-i tedbîr ile bir hizmet vücûda getirir. ‘Âkil olan âdama her şeyden fâyda mukarrerdir.¹⁴

13. Arslan ile Avcının Vak'asıdır

Bir avcının bir kelbi var idi. Bir gün kayb oldu. Avcı fikr éder ki bunu kurt yâdi. Ziyâde darılıp o gazab ile bir çobâna uğrayıp kurdu makâmına sorar ki, vara intikâm ala. Çobân cevâb vârip der ki; “O yaramazı bu dağda bulursun. Avcı sa'y ile dağa seğırtip gâfile • arslanın mağarası önüne arslana sataştığı[nı] görücek korkusundan titreyip sağa sola bakar k[i] Allâh tarafından bir kapı açılıp kurtula.

Bu aña misâldir ki: Bir âdam korkulu yerlerde yürekli görünür. Çok âdam uzakta olan korkulu yere tâlib olur, ammâ korkulu yerde hâzır oldukta korkusundan bayılır.¹⁵

14. Eşek ile Sâhiblerinin Vak'asıdır

Bir bostancının bir eşeği var idi. O eşek hâline kanâ'at étmeyip şikâyet édi der ki: “Her gün sabâhtan kalkırım. • Otları meydâna taşıyım.” dâdi. Ba'dehu bir debbâğın eline düştü. Yeni sâhibinden dahı hoşnûd olmayıp “Ey vay, bostancının hizmetini bilmedim. Bu deriler otluktan ağırdır?” dâdi yine şikâyet eylerdi. Ondan bir kömürcünün eline düştü. Fakîr eşek “Şimdiden sonra râhat olurum.” dâdi, ammâ ne ihtimâl bir iki gün geçtikte kömürcünün éttiği cefâlara sabr édemeyip” ne olaydı, evvelki hâlim elime gireydi?” dâdi.

Bu aña misâldir ki: Kendi hâlimize şükr édi kanâ'at étmeyiz. Ziyâde taleb étmekle bazı kerre hâlimizin dahı beterine düşeriz.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Güzide Masallar*, 12.

¹⁵ *Güzide Masallar*, 13.

¹⁶ Aisopos: *Masallar*: 273, *Güzide Masallar*, 14.

15. Suçlu Eşegin Vak'asıdır

Bir zamân hayvânların arasında tâûn düşüp katı çok kırıldı. Cümle bir araya gelip “Bu belâdan ne şekil kurtuluruz?” déye müşâvere éttiler. Öyle ma’kûl gördüler ki: “Allâhu *ta’âlâ* bize gazab étti. Aramızdan birini kurbân édelim, ki bâkîlerimizin üzerinden bu âfet def’ ola.” dédiler. Ve öyle kavl éttiler ki: “Her kişi kendi ettiği kabahati söyleye. Harâmı ziyâde olan kurbân ola.” Arslan, ki cümleliğin ulusu, dile gelip eyitti: “Nâhak yere çok koyun kaptım, yédim.” • dédi. Tilki eyitti “Sultânım, bu suç değildir. Koyunları yéдіңiz, ammâ sürüye ri’âyet éttiniz.” Ba’dehu ayı, kurt ve kaplan suçlarını söylediler. Dâiresinde olan hoş âmedciler şerlerinden korkup kabahatlerini hayra yordular. Cümleliğin âhîrinde miskîn eşek dile gelip “Bugün çayırdan geçerken uğrulayın bir azacık otlak yédim.” dédi. Cümlesi ittifâk édişegin bu ‘azîm kabahati için başımıza bu belâ geldi. Émdi eşek kurbân olmak gerek.” déye cümlesi hükm éttiler.

Bu aña misâldir ki: Devletliler arasında eğer devletli isen hêç suçun yoktur. Eğer fakîr isen hükm édiş seni kurbân éderler.¹⁷

16. Arslanın Sâyir Hayvânâta Ziyâfet Vak'asıdır

Bir gün arslan sâyir hayvânâta ‘azîm ziyâfet édiş cümlesini da’vet étti. Arslanın sarâyı bir mağara idi. Ve leş ile dolu idi. Lâşelerin yığımından ziyâde bed râyiha çıkardı. Çün cânavarlar mağaranın içine içine girdikte ayı fenâ kokuya tahammül édemeyip burnunu kapa[dı]. Ayının nâzikliğı pâdişâh olan arslana hoş gelmeyip fi ‘l-hâl ayıyı pâraladı. Ba’dehu maymûn arslanın gönlünü hoş âmediye başlayıp mağarayı medh édiş güzel sözler söyler. “Bu mağaranın ne güzel latîf • kokusu vardır. Hêç çiçeklerin ve ‘anberlerin kokusu buña beñzemez.” déyip sakalına güler. Arslan bunun medhinden yavuzlanıp maymûnu boğazladı. Birazdan sonra arslan tilkiye suâl édiş “Sen nécesin? Alıştın mı? Kokudan hazz éder misin? Doğru söyle!” dédi. Tilki cevâbında dedi ki: “Pâdişâhım, zükâm oldum. Burnum kokuyu duymaz.” déye bu hîle ile kendi[si]ni ölümden kurtarır.

Bu aña misâldir ki: Bir âdam ulular yanında ne ziyâde mübâlağa édiş sakala güle ve ne ‘âdetinden eksik söyleyip devletlilerin ‘aybını âşikâreye çıkara.¹⁸

¹⁷ Güzide Masallar, 15.

¹⁸ Aisopos: Masallar: 209, Güzide Masallar, 16.

17. Yılanın Başı[nın] Kuyruğuyla Münâkaşasıdır

Yılanın başı ve kuyruğu benîâdeme muzır ve müzâ olduğu için ziyâde zarar éderler. Bir gün başı ile kuyruk arasında • ileri geçmeden okurdu. Çok nizâ' oldu. Baş kendi 'âdeti üzre dâyimâ ileri giderdi. Kuyruk ise hased édip Müşterî'ye şikâyet édip der ki: "Niçin dâyimâ başa tâbi' olup istediği yere ardı sıra sürünüp giderim? Anuñ kulu ve câriyesi değilim ma'a-bende ikimiz hemşîre gibiyiz. İkimizin kanı ve eti birdir. Hâlimize ne sebep türlü türlü olur. Nöbetle ileri gidelim. Şimdi ben aña kılavuz olayım. Hakikat doğru yola götüreyim. Nöbet geldikte o dahı kılavuz olsun." dedi. Müşterî bunun dileğini kabûl etti, ammâ hem baş hem kuyruk helâk oldu. Çün-ki kuyrukta göz yoktur. Ya taş a ya hendeğe düşer. 'Âkibet • döğüne döğüne gitti. Başıyla helâklık belâsına uğradı.

Bu aña misâldir ki: Halk pâdişâha tasallut édip hükm éderse elbette memleket yıkılı[r]. Eđer reyîs buyuru[rsa] sâyir halk aña mutî' olmak hakdır, ve vâcibtir, zîrâ sâir cemi zamanda gözsüz olan kılavuz ol[a]maz.¹⁹

18. Ölüm ile Âdamın Vak'asıdır

Yüz yaşında bir ihtiyâr ölüm haddine geldi. Cân vérirken ölüme şikâyet édip dedi ki: "Ey sert olan ölüm, niçin baş a bu kadar sıklet édersin? Daha vasiyyet étmedim. Evvelden baş a bir haber vërse idiñ ki hâzır olaydım. Lütf eyle, biraz sabr eyle, evlâdımı evlendireyim. Ve başladığım binâyı bitireyim." dedi. Ölüm cevâbında dedi ki: "Hey ihtiyâr, senin ne şikâyet édecek hâlin vardır, ne mırıldarsın? Seni aldattım

¹⁹ Aisopos: *Masallar*: 288, *Güzide Masallar*, 17.

Arslan, Kaplan, Tilki ve Çakalın Hikâyesi

Arslan, kaplan, tilki ve çakal uzun zamandır arkadaşmışlar. Bir gün bir koyun avlayıp öldürmüşler. Arslan "Kim üleştircek?" diye sormuş. Öbürleri "En küçüğümüz çakaldır, o üleştirsin." demişler. Çakal koyunu dörde ayırmış. Herkese bir ülüş vermiş. Arslan "Benimki hangisi?" deyince "Senin hakkın şu, al bakalım." der demez arslan kızmış, "Sen üleştirmekten anlamıyorsun." deyip çakalı bir vuruşta öldürmüş. Çakal ölünce aralarında "Bu işi kim yapacak?" demişler. Telki "Ben yaparım." demiş. Koyun ile çakalın etlerini birbirine karıştırdıktan sonra, hepsini altı ülüşe ayırmış. Arslan "Biz üç kişiyiz. Sen altıya ayırdın. Bu ne demektir?" demiş. Tilki "Şunlar arslanın hakkı, şunlar en büyüğümüzün hakkı, şunlar da içimizde kimin gözleri kıp kıp ise onun hakkı." deyip hepsini arslana verince, arslan "Sen ülüşü kimden öğrendin?" diye sormuş. Tilki "Çakalın yediği tokattan öğrendim." demiş. Hanoteav: *Essai de la langue Temeşek*: Paris 1860 133. s.'dan Saim Ali Dilemre: *Genel Dil Bilgisi*: Ankara 1942, 1. c. 422. s. Hüseyinoğlu Abû Sa'id Mansûr: *Nasru 'd-Durar*; İsfahânli Muhammedoğlu Hüseyin Râgıb: *Muhâdarâtü 'l-Udabâ ve Muhâvarâtü 'ş-Şu'arâ ve 'l-Bulağâ*; Cavzioğlu, 'Alioğlu Abû 'l-Farâc 'Abdu 'r-rahmân: *Kitâbu 'l-Azkiyâ*; Mevlânâ: *Mesnevî*; Haz. Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, 2. basılış İstanbul 1-2. c. 1981, 1. c. 3121. b.; Bâûnî, Ahmedoğlu Muhammed: *Farâidu 's-Sulûk fî Târîhi 'l-Hulafâ va 'l-Mulûk*; Lâmi'i-Zâde Abdullah: *Letâif-nâme*: Hazırlayan: Yaşar Çalışkan, İstanbul 1978, (208. s.) 134. lâtife. Lâmi'i-Zâde Abdullah Çelebi: *Latîfeler*: Hazırlayan: Yaşar Çalışkan, İstanbul 1994, (246. s.) 202. lâtife.

mi? Doğru söyle. Bu vilâyette sen[iñ] kadar kim yaşadı? Ne kadar âdamın hastalığını ve ölümünü gördün. O gördüklerinden hisse almadın mı? ‘Âkıbet • sen dahı öleceksin.

Bu aña misâldir ki: ‘Âkil olan gaflet édip ölümünden aldanmaz. Lâzım olacağı âhirete cümleden hâzırlayıp kendi kendi[si]ne “Elbette, yarın öleceğim mukarrerdir.” déye haber vérir. *İkinci temsîl [bu]dur ki:* Peymânesi dolup ölüme pek yakın olanlar ekser dertle olurlar.²⁰

19. Yaşlı Bir Kocanın Ecel ile Vak’asıdır

Zamânla bir köyde bir fakîr ve pek yaşlı koca var idi. O koca bir gün ormanda bir ağır yük odun kesip iki kat olup adım adım şehre satmağa götürürdü. Ziyâde tâkati tâk olup bir gün bıraktı ve dinlenmek umuduyla biraz oturdu ve hâinden şikâyet édip “Bu dünyâda ne kadar huzûrum vardır? Dâyimâ mihnet çekerim. ‘Acaba benden fakîr ve nâçâr kimse var mıdır? Ammâ ne çâre elimden gelir? ‘Avratı ve oğlancıkları beslemeğe mecâlim yok. Ya ecel, nerdesin? Gel cânımı al. Bârîsi kurtulayım.” dâdi. • Fî ‘l-hâl ecel âdam sûretinde gelip karşısında durdu. Kocaman görünce korkup “Sen kimsin?” déye sordu. “O çağırıldığı ecel benim.” dâdi. Koca bu hâli görünce şaşır “Gel, kerem eyle, kardeş. Şu odunları merkebe kaldırı ver. Pek yoruldum. Şehri varıp satayım. Akçasıyla evime ekmek alayım.” dâdi.

Bu aña misâldir ki: Ölüme hêç kimse râzî olmaz. Meşhûr sözdür “Ölümünden, mihnet çekmek yeğdir.” dârlar. Halk arasında darb-ı meseldir “Bîñ yıl toprak altında yatmaktan bir sâ’at toprak üstünde durmak iyidir.” dârlar.²¹“

20. Tilki ile Karganın Vak’asıdır

Bir karga bir pârça peynîri çalıp minkârıyla tuttu. • Ve bir ağacın dalına kondu. Bir hilekâr tilki meğar ağacın dibinde oturmuş karganın ağzında peynîr görüp onu elinden almak için bir hîle tertîb etti. Kargaya hitâb édip dâdi ki “Hey cânım karga, ne güzelsin ve ne zarîfsin. Eğer sesin tûyûñ gibi güzel ise cümle kuşların pâdişâhı olmağa lâyıksın.” dâdi. Sâde-dil karga bu medhinden şâd olup ötmeg[e] niyyet édip ağzından peynîr düştü. Fî ‘l-hâl tilki seğirtip kavradı ve eyitti “Cânım karga, öğren ki her sakala gülениñ medhini dinleyen tahsîlini beyhode zâyi’ éder ve ömrünü beyhode geçirir. Bu saña vérdiğim ders ağzından • aldığım peynîrden daha iyidir.” déyip yoluna gitti.

Bu aña misâldir ki: Her sakala gülениñ medhini dinleyip aña mağrûrlanma ki o âşikâre seniñ zararına çalışır.²²

²⁰ *Güzide Masallar*, 18.

²¹ Aisopos: *Masallar*: 78, *Güzide Masallar*, 19.

²² Aisopos: *Masallar*: 165.

21. Arslan ile Öküzler Meselidir²³

Arslan iki öküzün üzerine geldi. Öküzler ikisi dahı bir yere müctemi' olup boynuzları ile döğüşmeğin arslan aralarına girmek mümkün olmadı. Arslan • bunları birbirinden ayırmak için hîle ve hudaya sülûk édip “Ben size taarruz étmem.” déyi biri birinden ayırdı ve ayırdıktan sonra birer birer ikisini dahı yırttı ve yédi.

Émdi bunuñ mânâsı budur: • Yâni beñzer iki mediîneniñ ahâlisi re'y-i vâhid üzerine müttefik ve müttehid olursalar onların üzerine düşmân zafer bulmağa kâdir olmaz, ammâ kaçan ki rey ve tedbirleri birbirine muhâlif ve muğâyir olsa cümlesi • helâk olurlar.²⁴

22. Böğürtlen Dikeni

Diken bir kere bostâncıya dédi ki: Eđer benim için bir kimse ihtimâm édip beni bostânın ortasına dikeydi ve beni her gün suvarıp başa hizmet édeydi pâdişâhlar benim • letâfetime ve çiçeklerime ve meyvelerime mâyl olurlar idi. Pes bostâncı onu alıp bostânın ortasında en latîf yerde dikti ve günde ikişer def'a suvardı. O sebeble diken bostânın içinde çoğalıp kavi oldu • ve budakları cümle etrâfında olan ağaçlara müteferri' oldu ve kökü yer içine kuvvetlenip dağıldı ve diken ile bostân dolup kimse içine girmeye kâdir olamadı.

Bu mesel aña beñzer ki: Bir âdam bir yaramaz kişi ile konuşsa • ne kadar aña i'zâz u ikrâm eylese şirret ve temerrüdü ziyâde olup ve aña ihsân éttikçe o esâeti ziyâde eyler.

23. Arslan ile Öküz Hikâyesidir

Arslan bir kere bir öküzü öldürmek murâd eyledi. • lâkin öküz şedid olmağın bir uğurdan üzerine hücum étmeğe cüret ve cesâret édemedi. Pes bir hîle ile onu tenhâsına getirmek kasd eyledi dédi ki: Ben bir kuzu boğazlamışım, benim konağıma gel onu pişirip seniñle bile yéyelim. Öküz da'vete • icâbet étti. Konağa geldiklerinde öküz gördü ki arslan çok katı odun tedârik eylemiş ve iri şişler peydâ étmiş. Öküz bunu gördükten sonra oradan kaçmağa yüz tuttu. Arslan dédi ki: Ey birâder, buraya gelmiş iken ne 'aceb kaçıp gidersin? • Öküz dédi ki: Bu tedârik ki sen étmişsin bir kuzu pişirmek için değildir, bel-ki kuzudan büyük nesne içindir, anuñ için kaçırım.

Bunuñ ma'nâ ve misâli budur ki: Âkil olan kimseye lâzımdır ki: Düşmânı tasdik eyleye ve-lâkin düşmâna enîs ve yâr olmaya.²⁵ •

²³ Z Ksie,gozioru Ignacego Bernsteina w Warszawie Ms. 2522/3. sy. 25^b–34^a yaklaşık 1760'ta yazıldı.

²⁴ Aisopos: *Masallar*: 71.

²⁵ Aisopos: *Masallar*: 211.

24. Tavşanlar ile Tilkiler Meselidir

Bir kere kerkesler²⁶ ile tavşanlar mâbeyninde ceng vâki' oldu. Tavşanlar tilkilerden imdâd ve i'ânet istediler. Tilkiler dâdiler: Eğer biz sizin keyfiyetinizi bilmeseydik ve sizin 'adüvvünüz olanların kuvvetini bilmeyeydik • size imdâd eyler idik.

Bu meselden hisse budur ki: İnsân kendisinden kuvvetli ile ceng ve muhârebe etmemek gerekir.²⁷

25. Demirci ile Kelb Meselidir

Bir demircinin bir köpeği var idi. Demirci her bar ki • iş işler idi kelb o vakitte dâyim uyur idi. İşten usanıp yoldaşları ile ekmek yémeye oturduklarında kelb uyanıp yanlarına gelirdi. Demirci kelbe dâdi ki: Ey yaramaz kelb, biz çekiç vurduğumuz zamânda yer sarsılır iken ne 'aceb uyanmazsın, ammâ biz ekmek • çiğner iken ayağımızın sedâsından uyanırsın? Bu aña benzerdir ki: Ba'zı âdam namâz için ezân okunurken uyur ve işitmez, ammâ savt-ı nâyı ve ırlamak sedâsını ve sâyir lehv ve lu'ba müte'alık olan niyâzları işidicek ardınca gider • goş-i cân ile istimâ' eyler.

Ve dahı aña benzer ki: Ba'zı âdam kendü sanına yaramayan nesneye dikilir, kendüsi için hem dünyâda hem âhirette lâzım olan nesneden teğâfûl éder. Bu ise cehl-i ekber ve sefâhat-ı mahzır.²⁸

26. Sivrisinek ile Öküz Meselidir

Bir sivrisinek öküzün boynuzuna konmuş, zann etmiş ki öküze kendi vücûdî ağır gele. Pes öküze démiş ki: Eğer ben saña ağır isem baña haber eyle uçayım, • gideyim. Öküz démiş ki: Ey filân, nereye konduñ ve nereye zarar éttin, hêç bilmem.

Bu mesel aña benzer: Bir kimse za'if ve hor hakîr, murâd eyleye ki kendüsini ululukla zikr éderler.²⁹ •

²⁶ kartallar.

²⁷ Aisopos: *Masallar*: 190.

²⁸ Aisopos: *Masallar*: 345.

²⁹ Aisopos: *Masallar*: 189.

27. İnsân ve Tay

Bir kiři bir yüklü kısırağı binip giderken kısarak doğurdu. Pes yavrusu anası ardınca yürüdükten sonra yolda durdu ve sâhibine dedi ki: Yâ sultânım, görürsün ben küçüğüm, yürümeğe kâdir değilim. Sen gidip beni burada • alı korsan ben helâk olurum, ammâ beni yanına alıp büyüyünce beslersen seni arkama alıp dilediğin yere fi 'l-hâl irsâl ederim.

Bu meseliñ fâydası budur ki: Bir kiři gerektir ki in'âm ve ihsânı ehline ve müstahakkına eyleye ve onu tarh ve redd eylemeye.

28. Arslan ile Tilki Hikâyesi •

Bir arslan bir kere güneşin ıssılığından bir mağaranın içine gölgelenmek için girdi. Mağaranın içinde yattıktan sonra bir karınca gelip arkasında yürümeğe başladı. Arslan dahı ayağı sıcırayıp korkusundan sağına soluna nazar eyledi ve tilki • onu görüp güldü ve dedi ki: Karıncadan bile korkmam sen niçin korkarsın? Arslan dedi ki: Benim ondan havfım yoktur, lâkin böyle za'îf hayvân benim üzerime bindiğinden bana 'âr geldi.

Bunun misâli budur ki: 'Âkil olana horluk ve noksân 'ırz, ölmekten • yaramazdır ve beterdir.³⁰

29. Karı ile Tavuk Meselidir

Bir 'avratın bir tavuğı var idi. Her gün gümüş yumurta yumurtlardı. Bir gün karı kendisi kendisine dedi ki: Eğer ben tavuğun yemini ziyâde edersem günde ikişer yumurta • yumurtlar. Kaçan ki yemini ziyâde verdi, tavuğun havsalası çatladı, öldü.

Bu meselden fâydadır ki: Néce kimse çok fâydaya tamah étmekle asıl malını yitirir, her hâlde kanâ'at evlâdır.³¹

30. Tavşan ile Diři Arslanın Meselidir

Tavşan bir kere bir diři arslana dedi ki: Ben her yıl néce evlât doğururum ve sen 'ömründe yâ bir yâhûd iki evlâd ancak doğurursun. Diři arslan aña dedi: Gerçi sen iki ben bir doğururum, ammâ arslan doğururum.

Bu meselden • murâd budur ki: Mübârek ve hünerli bir veled 'âciz ve hünersiz çok evlâddan yeğdir.³²

³⁰ Aisopos: *Masallar*: 213.

³¹ Aisopos: *Masallar*: 90.

³² Aisopos: *Masallar*: 194.

Kaynak metinlerle münasebetler, alıntılar

Muhammed b. ‘Alî az-Zahirî as-Samarqandî, Sinbâd-nâme, Arapça Sindbâd-nâme ile birlikte, nşr. Ahmed ATEŞ, İstanbul 1948, 59/34. 336. s. (İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınlarından, no. 343. Edebiyat Fakültesi Şarkiyat Enstitüsü) Yazılışı: 1161.

Bal arısıyla karıncanın hikâyesi

3702. Arının biri, kovanınadn pek neşeli, pek kararsı bir hâlde uçup gidiyordu.
 3703. Bir karınca, onu böyle sevinçli, kulluk hükmünden çıkmış görünce
 3704. Dedi ki: Neden sen böyle neşelisin; niçin sevincinden bir yere sığmıyorsun?
 3705. Arı, a karınca dedi, neden neşeden gönlüm coşmasın; niçin neşelenmeyeyim?
 3706. Nerde istersem orda oturuyor, ne dilersem seçip yiyorum.
 3707. Dilediğim gibi dünyayı gezip dolaşmadayım. Artık bir an bile neden kederleneyim ki?
 3708. Bu cevabı verip yaydan fırlayan ok gibi bir kasap dükkânına dek uçtu gitti.
 3709. Dükkânda yağlı bir et parçası vardı; ona konup hemencecik iğnesini daldırdı.
 3710. Kasıp, ete satırı çalınca arı, ikiye bölünüverdi:
 3711. Yere düştü. Karınca haberdar olunca gelip yarasını aldı;
 3712. Yolda zorlukla onu hem çekiyor, hem de diyordu ki:
 3713. Dilediği şeyi yiyen, gönlünün istediği yere konan kişi
 3714. Dilemediği şeyi görür, senin akıbetine uğrar.
 3715. Dilediği gibi yaşayan, senin gibi ölür. Bak, sonun ne oldu?
 3716. Haddin olmayan yere adım attın, ama bilgisizlik yüzünden kendi kendinin kanına girdin.
 3717. Az ululanmak, az kibirlenmek, güzel huy ve kerem sahibi olmak gerek.
 3718. Gücü kuvveti olanın, terazide Kafdağı kadar ağır gelenin bile ağırlığı, değeri, bir arpadan daha aşağıdadır.
 3719. İnsanları az incit; bu huyu seç. Hafif ve çevik ol. Bundan daha kısa, bundan daha yakın yolun yoktur senin.

Ferideddin-i Attar: *İlâhî-nâme*: Çeviren: Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, İstanbul 1971, II, 19–20. s. 3702–3719. b. Dünya edebiyatından tercümeler. Şark-İslâm klasikleri: 16.

2432. var-ı mış cırlayık bir beli ince
 anuñla kardaş olmış bir karınca
 2433. édermiş cırlayık her geçene sâz
 geçenden kesmez [ı mış] hergiz âvâz
 2434. geçene sâz-ıla âheng édermiş
 âvâz-ıla cehâmı teng édermiş

2432 Bir ince belli cırlayık varmış. Bir karınca onunla kardeş olmuş.

2433 Cırlayık her gece saz çalarmış Geçeninden asla sesini kesmezmiş.

2434 Geçene saz çalarak ahenk tutarmış. Saz ile cihanı dar edermiş.

2435. kış érişdi görür keser âvâzın
 nécedür halka çalmaz oldu sâzın
 2436. kanat büzülüp ağaca yapışur
 kalur ağaç butağında apışur
 2438. gelüp ol kardaşı karıncaya dér
 kerem ét baña öldüm bir gıdâ vér
 2439. begâyet hâlüm olmışdur mükedder
 baña rahm eyle beni koma ebter
 2430. elüm dut yohsa oş gitdi hayâtum
 néye dönmüş-durur bir gör e zâtum
 2440. alur karınca bundan bu cevâbı
 dönüp cırlayıka étdi hitâbı
 2441. dédi yaz olıcak çekersin âvâz
 édersin her kişiye gökçek sâz
 2442. tolar âvâzuñla işbu ‘âlem
 âvâzuñdan geçemez degme âdem
 2443. kılursın her kişiye dürlü sâzı
 olursın her bir-ile dil-nevâzı
 2444. âvâzuñdan senüñ kimse turumaz
 o râhat gölge bulup oturumaz
 2445. geçene eyleyince sâz u sozı
 görürsin kış [ki] kılsa kâd-ı rozî
 2446. be hey bî-çâre kış érdi ölürsin
 uzakdur kış [sen] néce dirilürsin
 2447. bu sâzuñdan saña oş érdi nâle
 bu gillet üstüñe oldu havâle
 2448. bu sözi cırlayık karıncadan goş
 édüben bu arada oldu hâmoş

-
- 2435 Kış gelmiş sesini keser olmuş. Uzun zamandır sazını çalmaz olmuş.
 2436 Kanadını büzmüş ağaca yapışmış. Ağaç budağında apışmış kalmış.
 2437 Gelip karınca kardeşe “Öldüm, bir büyüklük et de yiyecek ver.” demiş.
 2438 Hâlim çok acı. Bana acı, beni açlığa ter etme.
 2439 Elimi tutmazsan hayatım kayar. Neye döndüğümü bir gör bak.
 2440 Karınca bundan bu cevabı alır. Dönüp cırlayık hitap eder.
 2441 Yaz olunca avaz çekersin. Herkese güzel saz edersin.
 2442 Avazınla bu âlem dolar. Avazından kimse geçemez.
 2443 Herkese bir türlü saz çalarsın. Her birinin gönül okşayanı olursun.
 2444 Senin avazından kimse duramaz. Rahat göle bulup oturamaz.
 2445 Geçene yanıp yakınıyorsun. Kış kismetten mahrum ederse görürsün.
 2446 Hey zavallı kış geldi öleceksin. Kış uzundur sen nasıl yaşayacaksın.
 2447 Bu sazından sana işte ah kaldı. Bu aldaniş sana yollandı.
 2448 Cırlayık bu sözü karıncadan işitince oracıkta susuverdi.

Kemal: *Selâtin-nâme*: Hazırlayan: Öztürk, Necdet: *XV. Yüzyıl Tarihçilerinden Kemal Selâtin-nâme (699-895/1299-1490)*: İstanbul 2001, 207–209. s. 2432–2448. b.

Anhegger, Robert: “Türk Edebiyatında Ağustosböceği ile Karınca Hikâyesi”, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*: İstanbul 1951, IX, 73–94. s.

910. meger bir cırlayık fasl-ı şitâda
karıncadan taleb étmiş zevâde
911. démiş karınca halk işlü içinde
dürüşürken sen ağaçlar başında
912. ne ararduñ ki şimdi zâr u muhtâc
kaluban olıarsın bî-gümân aç
913. çağırduklarun ol dem dürlü tuyuk
kuruyup degmez olduğuna oyuk
914. inen hoşdur meşakkat çekmez iken
kayurmak gereği gerekmez iken
915. dürüş kardaş déyü yélter gerekdür
belê her gün yarak bir gün gerekdür
916. evün var ise havluñ içre hâlî
kimsene koyma yığ içine çalı
917. él él üzre olur âlemde çokdur
ev ev üzre velê olduğu yokdur
918. müdâm olmaz muvâfık çün iki hu
kaçan bir yerde sıgar iki ulu
919. sakın konşı hakkından olma ğâfil
ki konşı hakkı Tanrı hakkıdur bil
920. çün incitmez meseldür konşusun kurt
sen incitmek neden olanı hem yurt
921. biri birinüz ile kamu demde
gerek hoşluğunuz şâdîde ğamda

-
- 0910 Meğer bir cırlayık kış mevsiminde karıncadan bir azık istemiş.
0911 Karınca çalışan halk içinde çalışırken sen ağaç başlarında
0912 ne arıyordun? Şimdi yorgun bitkin düşüp elbette aç kalırsın.
0913 O zaman ırladıkların mâni idi. Bu, kuruyup korkuluk olduğuna değer miydi?
0914 Şikıntı çekmiyorken, gereği gerekmezken düşünmek gerek.
0915 Kardeşim çalış, diye dürten gerek. Her gün hazırlık bir gün ger içindir.
0916 Avlunda boş bir evin varsa, kimseye bırakma içine çalı yığ.
0917 Âlemde el el üstünde olur da ev ev üstünde olmaz.
0918 İki huy bir arada, iki ulu bir obada olmaz.
0919 Komşu hakkından gafil olma. Komşu hakkı Tanrı hakkıdır.
0920 Atasözüdür, kurt komşusunu incitmezken, senin ev komşunu incitmen nedendir?
0921 Birbirinizle her zaman mutlulukta mutsuzlukta hoş geçinmeniz gerek.

922. ki ol derd-i şikemden olıcak zâr
 düşer dâmen götürmek saña nâ-çâr
 923. ağırla konşıyı izzet gerekse
 hudâdan rahmet ü cennet gerekse
 men ekreme'l-câre fe-kad ekremehu'llâhu ta'âlâ fe-lehu'l-cennete
 925. müdâm ét yatlu konşıya velê âl
 yüzün suyunı yüzüzden satun al
 926. göçür cehd eyle anı ya göçegör
 binüp yügrüğe yüzüzden kaçagör
 927. yavuz da söyleseñ yok aña kayğu
 çeker mi rûspî kîr el korhu
 928. yaramaz konşınun tutma gümânı
 yedi konşıya dek érer ziyânı

Güvâhî: *Pend-nâme* (Öğütler ve Atasözleri): Hazırlayan: Mehmet Hengirmen, 159–161. s. 910–927. b. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı yayınları: 549. 1000 Temel Eser Dizisi: 99.

Hikâyelerin listesi

1. Çırtlak ile Karıncanın Vak'sıdır
2. Kurbağanın Çatladığı Hikâyetidir
3. Kurduñ Çobân Olduğu Vak'sıdır
4. Kurbağalar[ın] Bir Pâdişâh İstedikleridir
5. Bir Köylünün Bülbul ile Geçen Mâcerâsıdır
6. Toprak Tencere ile Demir Tencere Vak'sıdır
7. Horozun İnci ile Vak'sıdır
8. Bir Yarasa[nın] Gelincik ile Geçer Mâcerâsıdır
9. Kedi ile Tavukların Mâcerâsıdır
10. Sıçan ile Arslanın Vak'sıdır
11. Keklik ile Bir Tavşanın Vak'sıdır
12. Sefere Giden Arslanın Vak'sıdır
13. Arslan ile Avcının Vak'sıdır
14. Eşek ile Sâhiblerinin Vak'sıdır
15. Suçlu Eşegin Vak'sıdır

0922 O aklıktan kıvranırken ister istemez sana da paçaları sıvamak düşer.

0923 Sana itibar edilsin, Allah'tan rahmetine cennetine girdirsin istiyorsan komşuna iyilik et. Komşusuna iyilik edeni yüce Allah cennet ile mükâfatlandırır.

0925 Kötü komşuyu hep idare et. Şerefini şerefsizden satın al.

0926 Gayret et, ya onu göçür ya sen göç. Yüzüzden yügrüğe bin de kaç.

0927 Kötü de söyleseñ kaygılanmaz. Orospu sikten korkmaz.

0928 Yaramaz komşunun hatırını sayarsan yedi komşuya dek ziyânı değer.

16. Arslanın Sâyir Hayvânâta Ziyâfet Vak'sıdır
17. Yılanın Başı[nın] Kuyruğuyla Münâkaşasıdır
18. Ölüm ile Âdamin Vak'sıdır
19. Yaşlı Bir Kocanın Ecel ile Vak'sıdır
20. Tilki ile Karganın Vak'sıdır
21. Arslan ile Öküzler Meselidir
22. Böğürtlen Dikeni
23. Arslan ile Öküz Hikâyesidir
24. Tavşanlar ile Tilkiler Meselidir
25. Demirci ile Kelb Meselidir
26. Sivrisinek ile Öküz Meselidir
27. İnsân ve Tay
28. Arslan ile Tilki Hikâyesi
29. Karı ile Tavuk Meselidir
30. Tavşan ile Dişi Arslanın Meselidir

On Some Taboo Words in Yeniseian

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The paper discusses different fifteen native Yeniseian¹ and eleven Altaic loanwords connected to the category of taboo words. Through this semantic category, some linguistic criteria peculiar to the Yeniseian languages and their Altaic elements are presented. The basis of the paper is the comparative (Werner 2002) and etymological dictionaries of the Yeniseian languages (Vajda & Werner: in preparation), and a recently published monograph of the author on the Altaic elements of Yeniseian languages (Khabtagaeva 2019).

Taboo topics in ethnographic works

The valuable information on ethnography and taboo words of the Ket and Yeniseian people we can be gained mostly from the various ethnographic works of Russian and Soviet researchers. A prominent name among them is that of the Ketologist professor Alekseenko, from St. Petersburg, whose works covered practically every cultural aspect of the Ket people. Beginning with 1959 she published about 40 papers and a monograph on Ket culture based on her fieldwork materials (e.g. 1960; 1971; 1976; 1985). The monograph *The Ket people* investigates the various ethnographic aspects of Ket everyday lifestyle such as house, food, means of transport, spiritual words, shamanism, tribes etc. of the Ket people (Alekseenko 1999). In 1966 Dul'zon published the Ket texts — folktales describing everyday

¹ The Yeniseian languages belong in the Palaeo-Asiatic (or Palaeo-Siberian) language group, which also includes the Yukaghiric, the Kamchukotic, the Amuric and the Ainuic languages. The earliest documented sources of Yeniseian languages are relatively recent. The first short lists of Yeniseian words and phrases were compiled at the end of the 17th and in the 18th century by European travelers such as Witsen (1692), Messerschmidt (1720-1727), and Strahlenberg (1730). The most recent works on historical linguistics by Starostin (1982), Georg (2007: 16–20; 2018: 141), and Vajda (2014, personal communication) divide the Yeniseian languages into at least three sub-branches: Ket-Yugh, Pumpokol and Assan-Kott. Arin is either connected with Pumpokol or Ket-Yugh or represents a fourth sub-branch. Today the Yeniseian language family is represented by only the three surviving dialects of Ket. The Yugh language lost its last fluent speaker in the 1970s, Kott disappeared before 1850, while Assan, Arin and Pumpokol vanished in the 1700s (for more details on the Yeniseian languages, see Khabtagaeva 2019: 7–11).

activities such as hunting, which were recorded by the author in the villages representing various Ket dialects (Dul'zon 1966). There were also very important publications by Dolgih in the field of Ket ethnography, especial Ket tribal structure (Dolgih 1934, 1982). Some folklore and historical ethnical questions are discussed by Nikolaev (1985).

An excellent paper on Ket shamanism was published in English by Vajda in 2010. He provides a comprehensive introduction of earlier studies on shamanism including the information about the expeditions conducted among the Ket people during the 20th century. The paper provides an overview of practices, beliefs, accessories, and linguistic aspects of Ket shamanism. In addition, comprehensive information on and an annotated bibliography of ethnographic works of Yeniseian people published before 2000 are found in the *Source guide* by Vajda (2001).

Taboo words in Yeniseian

From a semantic point of view, the taboo words can be examined as part of various lexical groups. The present paper discusses twenty-six Yeniseian words connected to names of evil spirits, terminology related to shamanism, and words associated with the bear and its hunting.

The names of evil spirits

Like many other Siberian people, Kets have traditionally held a mythopoetic explanation of the world. In the Ket tradition, the structure of the world is reconstructed from three worlds: the Earth, which is surrounding by water area, the Heaven with its seven parallel circles, the seventh being the Sky, and seven cave dungeons supposedly found under the Earth. The Earth is inhabited by Kets, i.e. 'bright and pure' people, animals and birds, as well as numerous owners of places with a good or neutral nature. Under the Earth, the evil spirits have their own special world, which is also the world of the dead people and animals (for more details, see Alekseenko 1999: 55–62).

Nine Yeniseian names of evil spirits are discussed below. Six of them have a Yeniseian origin (1–6) and three words are Altaic loanwords (7–9).

Evil spirits's names of Yeniseian origin

Morphologically, the majority of native Yeniseian words presented below are built through compounding (2–6), and one term contains a nominalizer +s (1):

- (1) Ket *l'itts*; Yugh *lu^hsi*, Pumpokol *lici* 'devil' (Werner 2002/2: 16)
 < Yeniseian **lu^hʔ* 'forested upland' +*si* {NMLZ} (Vajda & Werner: in preparation).

- (2) Ket *qɔɲij* ‘*myth.* evil spirit; name of one of the seven Ket souls’ (Werner 2002/2: 104)
 < Yeniseian *qɔʔn* ‘dark’ and *ij* ‘spirit’ → ‘*literally* dark spirit’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation).
- (3) Ket *dɔt* ~ *dɔ:t* ‘evil forest spirit’ (Werner 2002/1: 202)
 cf. Ket *dɔttet* ~ *dotet* ‘an evil male forest spirit’ < *dɔt* ‘evil forest spirit’ and *tɛ:t* ‘husband’;
 Ket *dɔtam* ‘a malevolent female forest spirit, wife of *dɔttet* ~ *dotet*’ < *dɔt* ‘evil forest spirit’ and *ā:m* ‘mother’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation).

An important element of the Ket people’s life is the Earth, it is represented in the image of the Mother, as the ancestress (for more details on cultural aspects, see Alekseenko 1999: 60–61). The next three Yeniseian words include the word *baʔŋ* ‘earth’:

- (4) Ket *báŋl’itis* ‘underground devil’; Yugh *báŋlit’si* (Werner 2002/1: 105)
 < *baʔŋ* ‘earth’ + *di* {Ket POSS} and *litis* ‘devil’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation).
- (5) Ket *báŋul’s* ‘underground devil (*spirit*)’ (Werner 2002/1: 106)
 < *baʔŋ* ‘earth’ and *ū:l* ‘water’ + *s* {Ket NMLZ} (Vajda & Werner: in preparation).
- (6) Ket *baŋos* ~ *baŋgos* ~ *baŋgu:s*; Yugh *báŋgu:s* ‘earth spirit’ (Werner 2002/2: 105)
 < *baʔŋ* ‘earth’ + *ku:s* ‘spirit’.

The word was discussed among false etymologies or coincidences (Khabtagaeva 2019: 360). From a semantic point of view, the Ket and Yugh words indicate a borrowing from Siberian Turkic forms *maŋus* ~ *moŋus* ~ *muŋus* ‘devil’, which are of Mongolic origin with the original meaning being ‘fabulous, usually many-headed monster, a kind of ogre’,² but the Yeniseian words have their own etymology. In turn, the Mongolic word *maŋyus* ‘monster, a kind of ogre’ has possibly a Yeniseian etymology.

2 Cf. Southern Siberian Turkic: Yenisei Turkic: Shor *mōŋūs* ‘bad’; Altai Turkic: Altai *moŋus* ‘huge’; Tuba *muŋus* ‘devil’; Quu *moŋus* ‘strong, brave, skilful; hero, warrior; evil, wicked’; Teleut *maŋgīs* ‘locust’; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *maŋgīs* ‘monster’; Northern Siberian Turkic: Yakut *maŋīs* ‘insatiable, greedy’; Dolgan *moŋus* ‘monster’; Kipchak Turkic: Siberian Tatar, Kirgiz *n.a.*; Turki: Yellow Uyghur *maŋgīs* ‘devil (*lives on the moon*)’.
 ← Mongolic *maŋyus* ‘fabulous, usually many-headed monster, a kind of ogre’: Middle Mongol: Secret History *mangus* ~ *mangus*; Literary Mongolian *mangyus*; Modern Mongol: Buryat *mangad*; Khalkha *mangas*; Kalmuck *maŋys*.

The evil spirits names of Turkic origin

One of the results of my research was to establish that the Kott, Arin and Assan languages have the greatest number of the Turkic loans³ in comparison to loans attested in Ket, Yugh and Pumpokol (Khabtagaeva 2019: 370). A good example to prove this claim is the word ‘devil’ in Yeniseian. If Ket, Yugh and Pumpokol have a Common Yeniseian form (1), whereas Kott (8, 9), Arin (7) and Assan (8) have Turkic loanwords:

- (7) Arin *ajna* ‘devil’ (Werner 2002/1: 21) ← Turkic **ayna* ‘devil, demon’ ← ? Persian:

cf. Yenisei Turkic: Khakas *ayna* ‘devil’; Sagai, Koibal *ayna* ‘devil, evil spirit’; Kyzyl *aynā*; Shor *ayna* ‘devil, demon’; Altai Turkic: Altai *n.a.*;⁴ Quu *ayna* ‘demon, evil spirit’; Teleut *ayna* ‘devil; evil spirit’; Sayan Turkic *n.a.*; Chulym Turkic *ayna* ‘devil; evil spirit’; Remaining lgs. *n.a.*

The Arin word is obviously a Turkic loanword, the source of borrowing for the Arin form includes Yenisei Turkic, Altai Turkic or Chulym Turkic. From an etymological point of view, Erdal (1991: 591) at the basis of the Mongolic *ayi-* ~ *ayu-* verb ‘to fear, become frightened or afraid’⁵ reconstructs the Turkic verb **ayX-* (also see the reconstruction of West Old Turkic, Róna-Tas & Berta 2011: 449⁶). Clauson (ED 274b) suggests that the Turkic and Mongolic resemblance is accidental. More likely, the Turkic forms are connected to Persian *hajnā*+ (Stachowski 1996: 102; 2006: 109; Pomorska 2012: 301). Recently, Nevskaya (2017) published an insightful paper dedicated to this Siberian Turkic word, where she also suggested the Indo-Iranian origin.

- (8) Kott *âsa* ~ *asa* ~ *âša*; Assan *asa* ‘devil, evil spirit’ (Werner 2002/1: 61) ← Turkic **aza* < **ađa* ‘devil, demon, evil spirit’:

cf. Old Turkic *ada* ‘danger’; Yenisei Turkic: *n.a.*; Altai Turkic: Altai *aza* ‘demon, evil spirit (name of bad spirit in Altai mythology)’; Qumanda *aze* ‘spirit, ghost, bad smell’; Quu *aza* ~ *aze* ‘devil, demon’; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *aza* ‘evil spirit, Satan’; Tofan *aza*

3 Of the Turkic languages, only Siberian Turkic had direct linguistic contacts with Yeniseian. It seems that two layers may be distinguished: Yenisei Turkic, including the Khakas language with its dialects (Sagai, Koibal, Kachin, Kyzyl) and Shor, and Altai Turkic, including Qumanda, Quu and Tuba kiži dialects and Literary Altai language. Rare similarities may be observed with Sayan Turkic, Chulym, Yakut, Dolgan languages and Siberian Tatar dialect. Fuyü data are also important because of some similarities with Yenisei Turkic. Only these mentioned Turkic languages and varieties are considered in this paper.

4 *n.a.* indicates that the form is not available, it may be present but not found in the consulted dictionaries.

5 Cf. Mongolic: Middle Mongol: Secret History *ayu-*; Hua-yi yi-yu *ayu-*; Mukaddimat al-Adab *ayi-* ~ *ai-*; Literary Mongolian *ayi-* ~ *ayu-*; Modern Mongol: Buryat, Khalkha *ai-*; Kalmuck *ā-*; Dagur *ai-* ~ *ay-*; Khamnigan *ai-* (also, see Nugteren 2011: 275–276).

6 Cf. Turkic: West Old Turkic **ayī-* ~ **äyi-* ‘to fear, to be afraid’ → Hungarian *ijeszt* [iyest] {< **ije-Ast-*} ‘to frighten’, *ijed* [iyed] {< **ije-Ad-*} ‘to be frightened, to take fright’.

‘devil’; Chulym Turkic *n.a.*; Yakut *n.a.*; Siberian Tatar *aza* ‘bad spirit, demon’; Kirgiz *ada* ‘devil, evil spirit’; Fu-yü *azī* ‘ghost’.

The Yeniseian words clearly belong to the loanwords of Altai Turkic. The devoicing of original intervocalic *z > s* is regular for Kott loanwords⁷ (Khabtagaeva 2019: 218) due to the absence of the original consonant **z* in Yeniseian (Starostin 1982: 148). This change points to early borrowing.

In spite of its non-typical form, the Altai Turkic word *aza* ‘devil, demon’ is probably related to the Old Turkic form *ada* ‘danger’ (Clauson ED: 40a). According to the phonetic rules of Altai Turkic, the Old Turkic *ada* had to develop into **aya*, in turn, the Altai Turkic form with intervocalic *z* is typical of Yenisei Turkic⁸ (Johanson 1998: 102). It is important to mention that the word for ‘devil, demon’ in Yenisei Turkic is *ayna* (see below Arin *ajna* ‘devil’), which is also an unusual feature. The Altai Turkic form was probably borrowed from Yenisei Turkic. For details on irregular reflexes of **d* in South Siberian Turkic, see Nugteren (2012: 75–86).

A new etymology has been recently proposed by Nevskaya, who connects this term with an Indo-Iranian stem with the original meaning ‘serpent or dragon’ and adds it to the group of *Wanderwörter* (Nevskaya 2017: 218–219).

- (9) Kott *aka* ‘devil’ (Werner 2002/1: 22) ← Turkic **aqā* ‘elder brother; senior relative, elderly man; courteous address to elders; totem; fetish’:

cf. Old Turkic *aqā* ‘elder brother’ (DTS); Yenisei Turkic: Khakas *aga* ‘a head of a tribe; grandfather; father’s elder brother; courteous address to elders; *taboo* bear; ancestor; totem; fetish’ (Butanaev); Shor *aqqa* ‘grandfather from father’s side’; Altai Turkic: Altai *aqā* ‘elder brother; grandfather’s brother; *hon.* for older people’; Tuba *aga* ‘elder brother’; Qumanda *aga* ‘father’; Quu, Teleut *n.a.*; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *akī* ‘elder brother’; Tofan *a^cha* ‘elder brother’; Chulym Turkic *aga* ‘father’; Yakut *aga* ‘senior; father; ancestor’; Dolgan *aga* ‘father’; Siberian Tatar *aga* ‘elder brother, uncle’; Kirgiz *aga* ‘elder brother, uncle; senior relative’; Fu-yü *n.a.*; Kazak *aga* ‘elder brother; senior’; Yellow Uyghur *aqā* ‘elder brother; Buddhist monk’ (For etymological background and data, see ESTJa 1974: 70, 121; Räsänen VEW 13a; SIGTJa 2001: 291–292).

⁷ E.g. Kott *bosarak* ‘ruddy colored (*said of red fox fur*)’ ← Turkic *bozraq* < *bōz* ‘grey, brown’ + *rAK* {Turkic denominal noun suffix, which forms elatives and comparatives}; Kott *esirolog* ‘drunk (*adj.*)’ ← Turkic *āsāriklig* < *āsār-* ‘to be or become drunk, intoxicated’ -(X)K {Turkic deverbal noun suffix}, +*IXK* {Turkic denominal noun/adjective suffix}; Kott *kasak* ~ *kasax* ‘healthy, health’ ← Turkic *qazīq* ‘health’ < **qaḍīg* < *qaḍ-* ‘to be hard, firm, tough’ -(X)G {Turkic deverbal noun suffix}, etc.

⁸ E.g. Old Turkic *adaq* ‘leg, foot’ ~ Khakas *azax* (cf. Yellow Uyghur *azaq*, Fu-yü *azīx*); Old Turkic *qudrūq* ‘tail’ ~ Khakas *xuzurux* (cf. Yellow Uyghur *quzīriq*); Old Turkic *bedük* ‘large, high’ ~ Khakas *pōzīk* (cf. Yellow Uyghur *pezīk*), etc. (For more examples, see Nugteren 2012: 76).

The Kott word for ‘devil’ is absent in other Yeniseian languages. Due to the taboo character I assume that it might be borrowed from Turkic ‘elder man, elder relative’. From an etymological point of view, the Turkic word belongs to the category of nursery words, it is present in almost all Modern Turkic languages, and it is also present in almost all Middle and Modern Mongolic languages with the same meaning of ‘elder brother’ (for data, see Nugteren 2011: 266).

Words connected to shamanism

Every Ket person was animated by seven different spirits *a:p*, *i:j*, *iʔl*, *hənəlʔ*, *qəktij*, *qənij*, *ulʔbej* and *átpej* ~ *átpet* (Werner 2002/3: 419). The number seven figures prominently throughout Ket folklore and beliefs. Among these seven spirits, *ulʔbej* is the most important for a person’s well-being. The rest were acquired from eating various plants and animals, and little is known about their individual characteristics. Unlike the other spirits, which could inhabit plants and animals as well as humans, *ulʔbej* could only animate a human being or a bear, the latter being regarded as a lost human relative (Vajda 2010: 130). The Ket people believed that every person possessed an *ulʔbej*, and a person without it was considered as hopelessly ill or dead (Aleksenko 1999: 60–61).

- (10) Literally, the word means ‘water-wind’ and is often translated as ‘soul’ in descriptions of Ket spiritual culture:

Ket *ulʔbej*; Southern Ket *ulvej*; Yugh *úlʔbej* ‘the main human (out of the seven spirits said to be associated with each person)’ (Werner 2002/2: 330, 336)

< **ulʔ*(əŋ) ‘wet’ + **bej* ‘wind’ (Vajda & Wener: in preparation).

- (11) For an indication of a ‘shaman’s soul’, the Ket people use the Turkic word *qut* ‘soul, spirit’. The notion of *qut* is conceptualized as an anthropomorphic spirit passed down from one generation to the next as a shaman’s gift (for details on the ethnographic background, see Aleksenko 1984: 56; Vajda 2010: 133). From a linguistic point of view, the borrowed form was probably **qudu*, with the voiced consonant *d* in intervocalic position (Khabtagaeva 2019: 274–275). The intervocalic consonant *d* changed regularly to *r* in the Ket dialects (Werner 1990: 35). The final vowel in Northern and Central Ket dialects could be the vocative form (Georg 2007: 117). The source of borrowing is still unclear. The Ket forms may have been borrowed from Tungusic or directly from Turkic:

Southern Ket *qùt* ~ *qùr* ‘the great “first” person; shaman’s main spirit helper’; Northern Ket *qùr̃e*, Central Ket *qùde* ‘make magic (*said of a shaman*)’ (Werner 2002/2: 139) ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *kutu* ‘soul; happiness, good luck, success’ ← Turkic *qut* ‘soul; spirit’:

Podkamennyi Ewenki *kuta* ~ *kutu*; *Northern Ewenki*: Yerbogachon, Ilimpeya; *Southern Ewenki*: Nepa, Sym, Upper Lena, Nercha; *Eastern Ewenki*: Aldan, Uchur, Sakhalin, Barguzin *kutu* 'happiness, good luck; well-being'; cf. Northern Tungusic: *n.a.*; Southern Tungusic: Jurchen *hūh-t'ūh-rh* 'happiness'; Manchu *huturi* 'happiness, good luck; well-being; benefaction';

Tungusic ← Turkic *qut* 'soul; spirit':

cf. Old Turkic *qut* 'the favour of heaven; good fortune; happiness; spirit, soul, strength' (DTS); Yenisei Turkic: Khakas *xut* 'soul, spirit, strength'; Shor *qut* 'soul'; Altai Turkic: Altai *kut* 'soul, strength; embryo'; Tuba, Qumanda *n.a.*; Quu *kut* 'soul'; Teleut *qut* 'soul; means, remedy'; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *kut* 'soul; life-giving power'; Tofan *n.a.*; Chulym Turkic *qutu* 'soul'; Yakut; Dolgan *kut* 'soul'; Siberian Tatar *got* 'a kind of rite'; Kirgiz *kut*; Fu-yü *got* 'soul'; Kazak *qut* 'happiness'; Yellow Uyghur *n.a.* (For details on the etymological background of the Turkic word, see Räsänen VEW 305a, Clauson ED: 594 and ESTJa 2000: 175–177).

- (12) The Ket word 'sorcerer' in shaman's speech is probably connected with the Mongolic word *nökör* 'friend, comrade, companion; husband'. The problematic side of the etymology is the absence of any other direct Mongolic borrowings into Ket. The Mongolic etymology is fitting from a semantic point of view:

Ket ***nikkor*** 'sorcerer (*in shaman's speech*)' (Vajda & Werner: in preparation)

← Mongolic **nökör* 'friend, comrade, companion; husband':

cf. Middle Mongol: Preclassical Mongol *nökür*; Secret History *nökör*; Hua-yi yi-yu *nökör*; Mukaddimat al-Adab *nöker* ~ *nökör*; Literary Mongolian *nökör*; Modern Mongol: Buryat *nüxer*; Khalkha *nöxör*; Oirat dial. *nökär*; Kalmuck *nökr*; Dagur *nuyur*; Khamnigan *nüker* ~ *neker*.

There is a rich terminology of shaman's paraphernalia in the Ket language. Linguistically, some of the terms were discussed by Vajda (2010). The ethnographic description was examined in detail in various works by Alekseenko (1982, 1984, 1999: 54–55). Recently, a paper about Ket shaman drums from the collections of the museum's Kunstkamera in St. Petersburg and the Ethnographic museum of the Kazan university was published by Duvakin (2019).

- (13) The next Ket word is connected to the Ewenki dialectal form **kulitkōn*. The proposed etymology is strengthened by the lexical coincidence, while from a phonetic perspective, the internal syllable *-lit-* is deleted due to the monosyllabic structure of Ket words, which is a typical feature of some Altaic loanwords in Yeniseian (Khabtagaeva 2019: 273–274):

Ket *кэҕэҥ* ‘the image of snake in the shaman’s costume; copper pendant of the shaman’s costume’ (Werner 2002/1: 445) ← Tungusic: Ewenki **kulitkōn* < *kulitkān* ‘the image of snake in the shaman’s costume’ < *kulīn* ‘snake’ + *tkān* {Ewenki diminutive suffix: for function, see Vasilevič 1958: 791}:

cf. Barguzin, Sakhalin Ewenki *kulitkān* ‘the image of snake in the shaman’s costume’ < *kulin* ‘snake’:

Northern Ewenki: Yerbogachon, Ilimepya; Southern Ewenki: Podkamennyi, Nepa, Tokma, Nercha, Northern Baikal; Eastern Ewenki: Aldan, Uchur, Urmi, Chumikan, Sakhalin, Barguzin *kulin*; Upper Lena *kolin*;

cf. Northern Tungusic: Lamut *qulin* ~ *quličān* ~ *qolisān* ~ *kuličān* ~ *quličān* ‘mosquito’; Negidal *kolixān* ~ *kulikān* ‘worm, bug’; Southern Tungusic: Oroch *kulæ* ‘worm (common name for worms, snakes, and caterpillars)’; Udihe *kuliga* ‘id.’; Ulcha *qoli* ‘kind of aquatic insect’, *qula* ‘worm’; Orok *qola* ~ *qolia* ~ *qoliya* ‘insect, worm’; Nanai *qolā* ‘worm; caterpillar; insect’; Southern Manchuric: *n.a.* (for all Tungusic data, SSTMJJa 1: 428b).

Words associated with the bear and its hunting

The special category of taboo words includes the terminology connected with bear hunting. From an ethnographic point of view, there is a rich literature about the bear-feast. Ethnographer Alekseenko wrote that the Ket people believed the bear to be a special animal with a soul, while other animals do not have a soul; it has an ability to understand the language of animals and people. In one paper, which is dedicated to the bear-feast among Ket people (Alekseenko 1985), she describes how they hunt for bear, never saying the word ‘to hunt’, saying instead that “he was invited by an old man to visit him”. The Ket people believed that in the shape of a bear a deceased senior relative visits a hunter and his family, the ‘deceased relative’ could ‘visit’ no more than seven times, not earlier than seven years after death, and no more than once a year. The ceremony included two stages: the men ate the bear’s head, thereby expressing the bear’s rebirth; and communicated with the ‘guest’-bear, i.e. treated, gave the gifts for their protection in future hunting (Alekseenko 1985: 93). A bear was called as an ‘old man, grandfather, father-in-law, maternal uncle or forest man’ (Alekseenko 1960) and the bear’s body parts’ names were also taboo.

Below are some words connected to the designation of the bear, of Yeniseian (14, 15, 16) and Turkic (17) origin, and the bear’s body parts’ names of Yeniseian (18, 19, 20, 21, 22) and Tungusic (23, 24, 25) origin are listed, respectively. One Tungusic loanword is connected to bear hunting (26).

Taboo designations for bear

- (14) Ket *áldəŋ*; Yugh *a:^hrdəŋ* ‘forest people > *taboo* bears’ (Werner 2002/1: 25)
 < Yeniseian **al* ‘deep in the forest’ and **dʲɛʔŋ* ‘people’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);
- (15) Ket *ba:t* ‘old man > *taboo* bear’ (Werner 2002/1: 111, 315),
 cf. Ket *qáɟgus* ‘-*ba:t* ‘*taboo* bear’ < *qajgus* ‘forest spirit’ and *ba:t* ‘old man’ (Werner 2002/2: 63);
- (16) Ket *qĩp*, Yugh *χēp*, Arin *qip* ‘grandfather > *taboo* he-bear’ (Werner 2002/2: 90);
- (17) The word for designation ‘bear’ in Kott is *kaltum*. I assume that it was borrowed from Turkic, a compound word *kara yoldu* ‘literally with black stripes’, which is existed in Altai Turkic Quu dialect as a ‘brown bear’ (TSSDAJa 93). The final Kott -*m* is likely the Yeniseian adjective suffix (for function, see Georg 2007: 142) and the amalgamation occurred (Khabtagaeva 2019: 339):
 Kott *kaltum* ‘bear’ (Werner 2002/1: 406) < **kaltu* + (X)*m* ← Turkic *kara yoldu* ‘brown (colour of animal)’ < *kara* ‘black’ + *yoldig* ‘striped’ (cf. Altai Turkic: Quu dial. *qara yoldu* ‘brown bear’:
 < *kara* ‘black’:
 cf. Old Turkic *qara*; Yenisei Turkic: Khakas *xara*; Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *qara*; Kyzyl *χara*; Shor *qara*; Altai Turkic: Altai; Tuba; Qumanda; Quu; Teleut *qara*; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan; Tofan *qara*; Chulym Turkic *qara*; Yakut *xara*; Dolgan *kara* ~ *xara*; Siberian Tatar *qara*; Kirgiz *kara*; Fu-yü *gar*; Kazak *qara*; Yellow Uyghur *qara*;
 + *yoldu* ‘striped’ < **yol* ‘road, way; streak, stripe’ + *LXX* {Turkic denominal adjective forming suffix: for function, see Erdal 1991: 121};
 cf. Old Turkic *yōl*; Yenisei Turkic: Khakas; Sagai *čollig* < *čol*; Koibal *yollig*; Kyzyl *šol*; Shor *čol*; Altai Turkic: Altai *d’ol*; cf. *yoldū* (R); Tuba *d’ol*; Qumanda *d’ol* ~ *t’ol* ~ *čol*; Quu *yoldig* < *yol*; Teleut *yol*; Sayan Turkic *n.a.*; Chulym Turkic *čol* ~ *yol*; Yakut *suollāx* < *suol*; Dolgan *huol*; Siberian Tatar *yulaqli* < *yulaq* ‘stripe’ < *yul* ‘road’; Kirgiz *žoldū* < *žol*; Fu-yü *yol*; Kazak *žol*; Yellow Uyghur *yol*.

Taboo names of bear’s body parts

- (18) Ket *kənil* ‘*taboo* bear’s nose’
 < Yeniseian *kə:n* ‘chipmunk’ and *iʔl* ‘song, to sing’ + *s* {Yeniseian NMLZ} →
 literally ‘whistling of a chipmunk’⁹ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

⁹ In the Ket culture bears are believed to lure chipmunks by imitating their mating calls in spring (Vajda & Werner: in preparation).

- (19) Ket *báɣul* ‘taboo boiled bear liver’ (Werner 2002/1: 106)
 < Yeniseian *baʔŋ* ‘earth(-colored)’ and *ul* ‘water’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);
- (20) Ket *boktaŋ* ‘taboo bear’s kidneys’ (Werner 2002/1: 139)
 < Yeniseian *boʔk* ‘fire’ and *taʔŋ* ‘stones’ → *literally* ‘fire stones’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);
- (21) Ket *átis* ‘taboo bear tongue’ (Werner 2002/1: 77)
 < Yeniseian **aʔq* ‘trees’ and **pʰis* ‘protruding end’ → *literally* ‘splayed roots of an uprooted tree’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);
- (22) Ket *átáp* ‘taboo bear’s mouth’ (Werner 2002/1: 80)
 < Yeniseian **ē* ‘iron’ and **tāpʰ* ‘hoop’ → *literally* ‘pliers’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);
- (23) The etymology of the Ket word ‘bear eyes’ may be connected to the Podkamennyi Ewenki adjective *hugdī* ‘rapacious, predatory bear’ with the Ket plural suffix *-ŋ* (Khabtagaeva 2019: 276):
 Ket *húktaŋ* ~ *hukten* ‘taboo bear eyes’ (Werner 2002/1: 328) < *hukte* + *ŋ* {Ket plural: for function, see Georg 2007: 92–93}:
**hukte* ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *hugdī* ‘rapacious, predatory’ < *hug* ‘bear, predator’ + *dī* {Ewenki denominal adjective suffix: for function, see Vasilevič 1958: 755}:
 Podkamennyi Ewenki *hugdī* ‘rapacious, predatory’; cf. *Northern Ewenki*: Yerbogachon; *Southern Ewenki*: Podkamennyi, Nepa, Upper Lena; *Eastern Ewenki*: Aldan, Uchur, Chumikan *hug* ~ *hūg* ‘bear; hungry’; cf. Northern Tungusic: Lamut *hukečēn* ‘bear’; Negidal *xūyēčēn* ~ *xūxēčēn*; Southern Tungusic: *n.a.* (SSTMJa 2: 337a).
- (24) Possibly, the next Ket word was borrowed from the Podkamennyi Ewenki compound word *hepete tile* ‘bear bacon fat’ (Khabtagaeva 2019: 281). The initial Ewenki *h-* changed to *q-* in Ket, which is a typical feature of Tungusic loanwords (Khabtagaeva 2019: 308). Additionally, an amalgamation occurred, and the original final vowel is deleted. In turn, the etymologies of the Tungusic words are unknown, since they exist only in a few Ewenki dialects:
 Ket *qabdal* ‘slice of bear bacon fat’ (Werner 2002/2: 141) ← Tungusic: Podkamennyj Ewenki *hepete tile* ‘bear bacon fat’:
 < *hepete* ‘bear’ (SSTMJa 2: 368):
Southern Ewenki: Podkamennyi *hepete*; cf. Remaining lgs. *n.a.*;

+ *tile* ‘bear bacon fat’ (SSTMJa 2: 181b):

Northern Ewenki: Yerbogachon; Southern Ewenki: Podkamennyi *tile* ‘bear bacon fat, bear’; Northern Ewenki: Yerbogachon, Ilimpeya; Southern Ewenki: Podkamennyi, Sym; Eastern Ewenki: Zeya, Aldan, Uchur *tile-* ‘to eat bear meat’; cf. Remaining lgs. *n.a.*

- (25) The following Ket word is obviously related to the Ewenki word, in which possibly, semantic change occurred: ‘head’ → ‘stomach’. The Ewenki word belongs to the group of taboo words. The base of word is **tuŋ* ‘head’,¹⁰ but the derivation of *tuŋsuku* is uncertain (Khabtagaeva 2019: 276):

Ket *tans’uk* ‘taboo designation of a bear stomach’ (Werner 2002/2: 298) ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *tuŋsuku* ‘a bear head, a “funeral” of bear’:

Eastern Ewenki: Uchur, Urmi, Chumikan *tuŋsuku* ‘a bear head, a “funeral” of bear; a funeral of people on the tree (*ancient way of burial*)’; cf. Northern Tungusic: Negidal *texseke* ‘a forehead of bear’; Remaining lgs. *n.a.* (SSTMJa 2: 216b).

A term related to bear hunting

- (26) As a hypothesis, I assume that the last Ket word is connected with the Podkamennyi Ewenki form *amākākse* ‘bear’s skin; bear’s flesh’ with a Yeniseian nominalizer *-s* (Khabtagaeva 2019: 275–276). From a phonetic point of view, the loss of the internal syllables occurred in the Ket form, which is typical of some Altaic loanwords (Khabtagaeva 2019: 332–333). In Yeniseian, as in Tungusic, the word belongs to the taboo category:

Ket *akses* ‘bear trap’ (Werner 2002/1: 56) < *akse* + *s* {Yeniseian NMLZ}:

**akse* ← Tungusic: Ewenki *amākākse* ‘bear’s skin; bear’s flesh’ < *amā* ‘father; taboo bear’ + *kā* {Ewenki denominal noun suffix: for function, see Vasilevič 1958: 758} + *kse* {Ewenki denominal adjective suffix: for function, see Vasilevič 1958: 763}:

Podkamennyi, Upper Lena, Tokmin Ewenki *amākākse* ‘bear’s skin; bear’s flesh’ < Common Ewenki *amākā* ‘grandfather (*father’s or mother’s father*); uncle (*older brother of father or mother*); ancestor; bear; sky, God’ < *amā* ‘father’; cf. Northern Tungusic: Lamut *amā* ‘father; grandfather (*father’s or mother’s father*)’; Negidal *amaj* ‘father’; Southern Tungusic: Oroch *ama* ‘father’; Udihe *amin-* ‘father’s’; Ulcha *ama* ‘father’; Orok *ama* ~ *amma* ‘father’, cf. *amaqa* ‘grandfather; bear’; Nanai *ama* ‘father’; Jurchen *‘á-mîn* ‘father’; Manchu *ama* ‘father’; Sibe *ama* ‘father’ (SSTMJa 1: 34b–35a).

¹⁰ Cf. Ewenki dial. *tuŋkulbu-* (< **tuŋ* + *kU-lbU-* {Ewenki denominal verbal and deverbal verbal suffixes: for functions, see Vasilevič 1958: 767}) ‘to bend, to incline a head down’, *tuŋkin-* (< **tuŋ* + *kIn-* {Ewenki denominal verbal suffix: for function, see Vasilevič 1958: 762}) ‘to bend, to incline a head down’, *tuŋulkēn* (< **tuŋ* + *lkĀn* {Ewenki denominal noun suffix: for function, see Vasilevič 1958: 768}) ‘crown, skull’.

Conclusion

The present paper discusses twenty-six examples (twenty-two Ket, four Yugh, three Kott, two Arin, and one each of Pumpokol and Assan forms) of taboo words that present some linguistic criteria, which characterize the Yeniseian languages and their Altaic elements. All examined words are nouns. Concerning native Yeniseian words, from fifteen terms twelve words are formed through compounding, which is the predominant noun word-formation technique (for details, see Georg 2007: 125–127; Vajda 2014: 510), two words are derived with the nominalizer *+s*, which is a most productive suffix in Yeniseian (for details, see Georg 2007: 122–125; Vajda 2014: 513–514), and one word is monosyllabic. Altogether, eleven Altaic loanwords were examined, six of them are of Tungusic, four are Turkic, and one of Mongolic origin. The Tungusic and Mongolic loanwords are found in Ket and Yugh, while the Turkic elements are detected in Kott, Pumpokol and Arin. The source of borrowing for the most loanwords is clear. Most of the loanwords are recognized easily, but there are examples where the form of the Yeniseian words changed significantly according to the rules of the language as an amalgamation or the loss of the internal syllables. Semantically, due to the taboo character, the Yeniseian people either changed the original meaning of words (e.g. terms connected to bear), or borrowed words from neighboring Tungusic and Turkic people.

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Nine Gifts

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In many ancient cultures, number ‘nine’ has an eminent role, think of the nine Muses, the nine heads of the Hydra, or the nine-headed dragon of the tales. Many examples could prove that the number nine occupied a high place in the Turko-Mongol tradition, too. Not only the punishment but also a gift should consist of nine pieces. From Eastern Europe to East Asia, it is a still living custom in many traditional communities. In my paper, I offer nine Crimean and Dobrujan Tatar words meaning ‘gift’ to Mária Ivanics on the occasion of her birthday.

CrT *armağan*; DobT *armagan* ‘gift, present’

The word is attested from the 11th century on and according to a remark by Kāshgharī and other Turkic data, it belongs to the lexicon of Oghuz Turkic. In the Compendium, it is recorded in two forms (*armāgān* and *yarmāgān*), meaning ‘a gift (*hadiyya*) which a man returning from a successful journey brings for his relatives’ (Dankoff – Kelly 1982: 160). Though the latter form is considered to be “more correct” by Kāshgharī, besides this datum we cannot meet this form in Turkic languages later. Sporadic attestation of *armāgān* is found in the Middle Turkic sources of the 14th–15th centuries (Fazylov 1966: 65), especially from the territory of the Golden Horde, which included the territories of the Crimea and Khwarezm with extensive contacts with the Oghuz Turkic population and many Oghuz Turkic speaking people, mostly mercenaries, from the Mamluk territory (Toparli et al. 2003; Golden 2000). Of the modern Turkic languages, the word exists only in TTu *armağan*, CrT *armağan*, Dobrujan Tatar *armagan* and CrK *armağan*. In Azeri, it can only be found as a historical term in the explanatory dictionary (Orucov et al. 2006): *armağan* ‘hədiyyə, bəxşış, pay, sovgat, töhfə’. On the base of this areal attestation, one must suppose that these words are loans from (Ottoman) Turkish. The CrT phonetic variant *armayal* mentioned in Radloff’s dictionary (R I: 339) is

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not recorded in the modern dictionaries. Due to the Ottomans' impact, it became a loanword in the languages of the Balkans as well (cf. TMEN II: 46).

There is no plausible Turkic etymology of it. Many of the scholars (Fazylov 1966: 65; Nadeljaev et al. 1969: 53; ED: 232, 969; Tietze 2002; Pomorska 2013: 19, etc.) consider the word of Iranian origin, compared with Persian and Tajik: Tajik *armuḡān* 'gift' (Rachimi – Uspenskaja 1954); Per *armaḡān* ~ *armuḡān* ~ *armaḡānī* 'a present brought from a journey, an offering; a piece of money', *yarmaḡān* 'a curiosity or rarity brought from afar as a present to a great man' (Steingass 1975: 39, 1530). Tezcan (1997: 159) and Eren (1999: 18) leave open the question, considering the origin unknown. Doerfer (TMEN II: 45–6) assumes the borrowing in the opposite direction, from Turkic to Persian without further explanation on the etymology. According to the opinion of Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 315), *armaḡān* is of Turkic origin. They consider it a deverbal noun with the suffix *-GAn*, where the verbal stem is the cognate of the Kirg word *arna-* 'to dedicate, design for'. It would be an interesting case since the verbal stem comes only up in one Kipchak language, but the supposed derivation is only attested in the Oghuz languages as we could have seen above.

DobT *bağış* 'donation, gift'

A loanword in Turkic of Persian origin, see *baḡš* 'fortune, lot, part, portion', the verbal form *baḡš kardan* 'to give; to make a present, give in alms' (Steingass 1975: 159). The one-syllabic Persian *baḡš* was adapted with a linking sound in most of the Turkic languages as *bağış*. The first attestation is a verbalized form in the Compendium of Kāshgharī: *bağışla-* 'to present' (ED: 321; Dankoff – Kelly 1984: 320, 325, 326). While the verbal forms can be found in many Turkic languages meaning 'to give (present); to dedicate' (Az *bağışla-*; Tkm *bağışla-*; Bšk *bağışla-*; Tat *bağışla-*; Nog *bağışla-*; KrčM *bağışla-*; Kzk *bağışta-*; Kirg *bağışta-*; Kum *bağışla-*; Kmk/Blk *bağışla-*; Uzb *bağışla-*; UygD *bäğışla-*), the nominal form is only attested in the translation of Gulistan by Sibîcâbî (14th c.): *bağış* (Ünlü 2013) and in Codex Cumanicus: *bağış* 'Geschenk; donum' (Grønbech 1942: 47), and in some modern Turkic languages in verbal constructions or independently: Tkm *bağış et-* 'to give (a present), to grant'; Nog *bağış et-* 'id.', Kum/Blk *bağış* 'Geschenk'; Tat *bağış* 'bağış, hibe'. In other languages the phonetic shape of the word (one-syllabic and/or with *χ*) is nearer to the New Persian original; these are considered to be later borrowings: Uyg *bäğš* (in the verbal construction *bäğš ät-* 'to give', cf. Persian *baḡš kardan*); (Ottoman) Turkish *bahş*, *bağış* 1. 'giving; gift'; 2. 'forgiving'; and *bahş it-* 'to give, donate' (see also Pomorska 2013: 27); CrK *bahış* 'donation, grant, gift'; Krčk *bağışla-* 'to give, to dedicate'; the latter two data must be considered a borrowing from (Ottoman) Turkish. The Modern Turkish *bağış* 'grant, donation' is a neologism as it was stated by Redhouse (1974), a backformation from the verbal form *bağışla-* 'to present', see also Nişanyan 2018. Because of the lack of sources

for historical DobT data, we cannot make a definite statement: the word *bağış* ‘donation, gift’ can either be a modern borrowing from Turkish, or can represent the old Kipchak form, cf. Kzk *bağış* ‘id.’.

In the modern CrT dictionary, only the verbal form *bağışlamak* ‘to give, donate’ and its derivations (*bağışlama*, *bağışlav*, *bağışlanmak*, *bağışlanma*, *bağışlangan*) are registered.

CrT *baxşış*; DobT *bahşış* ‘gift, present; donation’

A loanword of Persian origin in Turkic languages, cf. Per *baḡšīš* ‘a gift, a present’ (Steingass 1975: 159). The word appears first in the Middle Turkic sources as *bahşış* in *Atebetü'l-hakayık* (Arat 1951) and in the Şuṣter manuscript of the *Mukaddimat al-Adab* (dated to the 13th century by Yüce 1993: 11). In the Middle Kipchak monuments, it is recorded as *bağşış* and *bahşış* (Toparlı et al. 2003: 21–2), and in Navā’ī’s works as *bahşış* (Ünlü 2013: 95). Of the modern Turkic languages, it can be found in Az (*bahşış*), TTu (*bahşış*), CrK (*bahşış*); CrT (*baxşış*); DobT (*bahşış*); in the languages of the Crimea and Dobruja supposedly through Turkish (Ottoman) mediation. The word entered into the languages of the Balkans via Ottoman Turkish mostly in the meaning ‘tip; gift, present’, cf. Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbian *bakšiš*, Albanian *bakshish*, Romanian *bacşiş*, Greek *παζίζι*, and finally it became a cultural word, see German *Bachschesch*, *Bakschesch*, English *baksheesh*, Hungarian *baksis* (TESz I: 225) etc.

The word *bahşış*, similarly to Turkish, can be used as an adjective in the CrT and DobT: CrT *Baxşış atnıñ tişine bakılmaz*. ~ DobT *Bahşış atnıñ tişine karalmaz* ~ TTu *Bahşış atn dişine (veya yaşına) bakılmaz* ‘Don’t look a gift horse in the mouth.’

DobT *bülelek* ‘gift, present’

A very old word attested first in the 8th c. Old Turkic as *beläk* ‘a gift’ (according to Clauson *beläg* ~ *beleg*) (ED 338), Kāshgharī *beläg* [recte: *beläk*] ‘gift which a traveller brings his relatives, or which is sent from one spot to another’ (Dankoff – Kelly I: 195); *bēläg* [recte: *beläk*] ‘gift’ (Dankoff – Kelly I: 310); *beläglä-* ‘to present’ (Dankoff – Kelly I: 249, II: 322). It is recorded in Middle Turkic: AtH *belek* (Arat 1951); Chagatay: *bäläk* ~ *bilek* (recte: *beläk*) and *bölek* (R IV: 1762, 1700, cf. also TMEN II: 413). Among Modern Turkic languages, it can be found in TTu as *belek* (dialectal *benek*: DS 1993 II: 609, 627); Kirg *belek*; Tat, Bšk *büläk*; YUyg *pelek*; Tuv *belek* and *belek selek* (the latter definitely from Mongolian); Tob, Tar *büläk* (R IV: 1894); BarT *piläk* (R IV: 1338), Alt *belek* ‘a gift or deposit from the bride to the groom to show her consent to the elopement’; Yakut *bäläx*; the word means everywhere ‘gift, (engagement) present’.

The first problem we meet is the quality of the word final consonant. Since the scripts for Old Turkic are ambiguous in this respect, scholars give different transcriptions of the historical data, namely *beläk* and *beläg* ~ *beleg* due to their opinion about the etymology and origin of the word. As we can see above, Clauson, Dankoff – Kelly considers a -g, while other scholars suggest that the phonetic shape of the word must be *belek*. Erdal (1991: 230) convincingly argues in favour of the final voiceless velar. Räsänen (1969: 69) proposes Mongolic origin of the Turkic word (cf. WrMo *beleg* ‘gift, present’), and he supposes that Mongolic *beleg* is a cognate of Turkic *bölük* ‘part; gift’, which is rightly rejected by Clark (1977: 132). Tuna (1973–5: 284) also considers the Mongolian etymology to be correct. Sevortjan (1978: 112–3) rules out the possibility of its Mongolic origin. He thinks that (similarly to the noun *belge* ‘sign’) the word could be a derivation of the verb **bel-* ‘come into sight’ which can hardly be substantiated. Schönig (2000: 69) leaves open the possibility of both the Turkic and the Mongolic origin. According to Starostin–Dybo–Mudrak (2003: 926) the verbal stem of the Turkic *belek* ‘gift’ is a cognate of Mongolic *melže-* ‘to bet, wager’, which is hardly acceptable. Doerfer (TMEN II: 413–5), Clauson (ED: 338), Erdal (1991: 230), Tietze (2002) are probably right in supposing that the word *beläk* ‘gift’ is an object noun from the verb *belä-* ‘to wrap (up)’ with the deverbal suffix *-(O)k* (cf. Erdal 1991: 224–261). Kyz *pälä* ~ *pälägä* (R IV: 1243) are results of other derivation with the suffix *-gA*, for the suffix (see Erdal 1991: 376–382). The word *belek* was copied by Mongolian as *beleg* (for the data see Khabtagaeva 2009: 197), the final -g in Mongolic is a substitution for a final -k in Turkic. The Tat and DobT *büle*k goes back to *böle*k, the *e* > *ö* labialization after *b-* is a frequent development in Kipchak languages, which might be strengthened by the contamination with the word *böle*k ‘part, share, unit’. The *ö* > *ü* change occurred in Tatar and DobT.

CrT *ediye*; DobT *ediye* ~ *hediye* ‘gift’

It is an Arabic loanword in Turkic from the stem [*hdy*] هدى ‘to lead on the right way, to guide etc.’. The first attestation of the Arabic هدية *hadīya* ‘gift, present, donation; offering, sacrifice’ as a loan in Turkic is in AtH *hedye* ‘gift’ as: *hedye kıl-* ‘to present, to grant’, and *hedyeni qabul kıl-* ‘to accept one’s gift’ (Arat 1951). It spread in Turkic languages also via Persian هدیة *hadiya*, *hadya*, cf. Khwarezmian *hedye*, *hedyye* (Arat 1951, Yüce1993), Middle Kipchak *hedyye* (Toparlı et al. 2003), Chagatay *hediye*, *hedyye* (Ünlü 2013), TTu *hediye*, Az *hādiyyā*, Tkm *hedye*, Uyg *hādiyyā*, Uzb *hadya*. Besides the languages of the Crimea and Dobruja (cf. CrK *hediye*, CrT *ediye*; DobT *ediye* ~ *hediye* ‘gift, present’), the word seems to not exist in modern Kipchak languages, therefore one must suppose that these are borrowed from Turkish. The disappearance of onset *h-* happened in the Tatar idioms.

CrT, DobT *ihsan* ‘gift’

A word of Arabic origin in Turkic, cf. Ar *ihsān* إحصان ‘beneficence, performance of good deeds’ (Wehr 1980: 178), which was originally a religious term of Islam. The semantic shift from ‘performance of good deeds’ to ‘gift’ seems to have taken place in Turkic quite early. The earliest datum in Turkic in the latter meaning is AtH *ihsan* ‘grant, gift’ (Arat 1951: 46), Middle Kipchak *ihsān* ‘ihsan, bağış’ (Toparlı et al. 2003). In TTu, it means 1. ‘a favour, benevolence, kindness’ 2. ‘gift (granted by a superior)’. In the languages of the Crimea and Dobruja, it must be a borrowing from (Ottoman) Turkish. In both languages it has the meanings ‘beneficence, mercy, good deed; gift, grant’. In CrK, it can be found in the verbal construction *ihsan et-* ‘to endow; to bestow’. The Tat *ihsan* is a bookish word meaning ‘a good deed; help; beneficence; gift’; *ihsan it-* ‘to give a present; to endow’. It is also very popular as a proper name (mostly for men) in almost all Muslim cultures.

DobT *körümlük ~ körümlük* ‘gift’

It is a word (and custom) of Turkic origin. The morphological structure is clear; in archphonemic transcription: **kör-(X)m+LXk*; about the function of the suffixes, see Erdal 1991: 290–300; 121–131. The verbal stem is identical with the well-known and widespread verb *kör-* ‘to see’, therefore **körüm* means ‘an act of seeing’, and **körümlük* ‘a thing (worth) to see’ with a semantic shift ‘a gift given for seeing something or somebody for the first’. The word initial *k-*, the vocalism of the suffixes, and the allomorph *-nik* clearly reflect Kipchak features. DobT dictionary lists the following meanings of *körümlük ~ körümlük* are listed: 1. ‘Yalnız görülmek için bulundurulan nesne; görmelik’ 2. ‘İlk kez görmeye geldiğinde erkek tarafından nişanlısına verilen armağan’ 3. ‘Yeni doğan bebeği ilk defa götürken verilen hediye’ 4. ‘Nevruz kutlamalarında ev ev dolaşarak türküler söyleyip ellerindeki nevruz çiçekleriyle ilkbaharın gelişini müjdeleyenlere verilen armağan’. While in TTu, the phrase *yüz görümlüğü* refers only to ‘the gift given by the groom to the bride on the occasion of seeing her face first’, which traditionally happened often only after the wedding, in DobT *yüz körüml/nigü bermek* refers to a gift given to a new-born child, or to the bride’. The custom existed in Turkic cultures almost everywhere, and though the modern dictionaries may not always contain this derivation, in many cases one can suppose, that it is an element of the vernacular. See also Kzk *körimdik* ‘a gift presented at the show of a bride or of a newly born child’; KrčM *körümdük* ‘id.’; Tat *küremlek* ‘id.’.

CrT *savğa* ‘gift’

The history and the etymology of the word is not clear in every detail. The direction of borrowing cannot be determined unambiguously—the word history shows successive waves of interlinguistic borrowing. The word can be found in many historical and modern languages of Eurasia, namely in Turkic (with the exception of Siberian Turkic and the Volga region), (Middle) Mongolic, Chinese (← Mongolic, as it was proposed by Pelliot 1936; Rachewiltz 2000: 433), Persian and other Iranian languages, languages of the Caucasus, Russian etc. (Pelliot 1936; Doerfer TMEN I: 345–347, IV: 388).

Considering the data, the first attestations are from the 13th century on in both in Turkic and Mongolic languages. Khwarezmian *savğat*, *savqat* ‘hediye’ (Yüce 1993: 78:8); Ottoman *savgat* (*savkat*) ‘hediye, armağan, bahşiş, ihsan’ (TS V: 3341); Chagatay *savgat* ~ *sogat* ‘pişkeş, armagan, inam’ (Atalay 1970: 273, 290); *savğat* ‘gift’ (Thackston 1993: 246a); *savğat* ~ *sogat* ‘id.’ (P. de Courteille 1870: 344, 356); *soğa* ‘das Geschenk eines von der Jagd, vom Markte oder von der Reise Angekommen’ (Vámbéry 1867; R IV: 527), *soğat* ‘das Geschenk’ (R IV: 529), *savğat* ‘id.’ (R IV: 431), *sağat* ‘id.’ (R IV: 234); *savğat* ‘Geschenk’ (Kúnos 1902: 168); Turkish dialects *savğa* ‘armağan’, *savga* ~ *savgi* ‘bir acıdan kurtulmak ya da başarı kutlamak için verilen yemek, şölen’ (DS X: 3553); Tkm *sovğat* ‘gift’; Az *soğat* ‘id.’ (R IV: 529), *sağat* ‘ein Geschenk, eine Gabe, eine Belohnung’ (R IV: 234), *sovqat* ‘is. Birinə göndərilən pay; hədiyyə, bəxşiş’ (Orucov et al. 2006, IV: 140); Kzk *savğa* ‘hist. war booty or (hunting) bag of game’; Kir *sōga* ~ *sōgat* ~ *sōgo* ‘id.’; Kkalp *sauga* ‘id.’; Kar *savğa*; CrT *savğa* ‘gift; a tax paid to the khan from military booty in money or in kind’; Nog *savga* ~ *savkat* ‘gift’; KrčM *savga* ‘hediye, armağan; ödül’; Kum *savğat* ‘gift; prize’; Uzb *savğa* ‘id.’; Uyg *soğa*, *soğat* ‘id.’.

In Mongolic, the word can be found only in Middle Mongolic sources: *sauqa* ‘gift’ (Haenisch 1962: 132 (*saohua*), Mostaert 1956: 7–8; Rachewiltz 2004: 433); *sağat* ‘a salutatory gift’ (Poppe 1938–9: 319, 446); *sağat* ‘= Turkic *armağan*; present’ (Golden 2000: 291); *sauqat* ‘Geschenk, welches man von einer Reise mitbringt’ (Poppe 1927/1972: 59); WrMo *sauqa* ~ *sauga* ~ *sağad* ‘gift, present’. It is not attested in any modern Mongolic languages. According to Rachewiltz (2000: 433–4) *sauqa* ~ *sauqat* “designated presents one took on a journey to repay the hospitality one received, hence a sort of due which the receiver expected by custom.” In the Secret History of the Mongols, young boys, prisoners of war, were sent as *sauqa* to Hö’elün. In Rashīd al-Dīn’s work, the *Jāmi’ al-Tawārīkh* (1310–1311), a daughter of the Tangut ruler was asked and sent to Čiŋgis as *sauqa*; for further examples see Doerfer TMEN I: 346. In the Middle Turkic, sources the meaning is ‘a gift from one who has returned from a journey’ (Thackston 1993: 246a), ‘a gift from one who has been on a journey’ (Desmaisons 1970: 313). It is interesting to observe that in multilingual dictionaries, such as the Leiden Anonym,

the Rasūlid Hexaglot, and the *Muqaddimatu'l-adab* (edited by Poppe) the word is recorded only in the Mongolian part, but not in the Turkic one. Despite that, since the cognate word *sajgat* 'loot, booty' is attested in Russian chronicles (1174, 1193, 1258, 1260, 1262), Pelliot (1936: 234) considers it as an argument in support of the existence of the word in Turkic as early as in the 12th century. As one could see from the data above, there are forms with and without a final *-t*, often both forms registered in the very same language, both in Turkic and in Mongolic languages. Following Melioranski, Pelliot (1936: 235) considers it as a plural. He states that there is a plural suffix *-t* in Old Turkic in common with Mongolian and Sogdian. He proposes that plural *-t* in Turkic comes from a language which disappeared, e.g. Ruanruan, which is considered to be Mongol by Pelliot (1936: 236). Doerfer (TMEN I: 345–347) and Schönig (2000: 163) follows him and argues in favour of the Mongolic origin. At the same time Doerfer (op.cit.) does not exclude the possibility that *savgat* may also be of Old Iranian origin transmitted by the Naimans to Turkic and Mongolic languages.

Other scholars consider the Mongolic word of Turkic origin without giving an etymological explanation (Poppe 1927/1972: 59; Räsänen 1969: 406; Eren 1972: 237–242; Kara 2001: 107). The latest etymological proposal is that of Doerfer – Tezcan (1980: 185), which was completed by Tenišev (2001: 349–50). Based on the Halaj verb *sa-v-* 'bewirten', a Turkic etymology is suggested. The Turkish dialectal *savga* ~ *savgı* 'bir acıdan kurtulmak ya da başarı kutlamak için verilen yemek, şölen' (DS X: 3553), the Tatar dialectal *sawām* 'wedding gifts' (Tenišev 2001: 350), and the word *sawğa(t)* are supposed to be its derivations. The base word, however, later became obsolete and, with the exception of Halaj, disappeared. The weak point of this hypothesis is that the function of the suffix *-gA* is to form agent nouns, cf. Erdal 1991: 376. The word calls for further research.

DobT *tokuz* ~ *tokız* ~ *dokuz* ~ *dokız* 'a gift of nine pieces given at weddings or at wrestling-matches'; CrT *doğuz* ~ *doğız* 'a set of linen given by the bride to the groom'

As I have mentioned in the dedication above, a gift should have consisted of nine times nine units of the thing given in the Turko–Mongol steppe tradition (cf. The Travels of Marco Polo). Therefore, the word 'nine' in many Turkic languages also have the meaning 'gift (of nine pieces)', cf. DobT *tokuz* ~ *tokız* ~ *dokuz* ~ *dokız*, CrT *doğuz* ~ *doğız*, Kzk *toğız*, Kirg *toguz*, Nog *toğız*, Uzb *to'ğqız* etc. The word in this meaning was also borrowed from Uzb into Tajik: *tāqquz* 'Geschenk, bestehend aus neun Gegenständen (Kleidung, Schuhe, Tücher), das der Bräutigam der Braut vor der Hochzeit zurüstet' (Dorfer 1967: 34).

The tradition was respected even by those peoples who had contacts with Turks or Mongols when they sent or gave gifts. Due to the close political and cultural contacts with the Tatars, we can find the calque of the Turkic word *tokuz* ‘nine; nine-item gift’ in Slavic languages (Russian *devjat'* ~ *devet*, Polish *dziewięć* etc.). Kołodziejczyk (2011: 738. n.15) gives some examples for sending *dziewięć* to the Crimea. In the end of the 15th century, the Lithuanian chancery was about to send three sets of nine presents to Mengli Giray. In 1607 the Polish court wanted to send presents to Khan Ghazi II Giray and prepared a list of “three sets of nine gifts”. Another time, Khan Bahadır Giray requested gifts of nine objects in 1640. Mária Ivanics (1994: 106) also deals with the history of giving *tokuz* to the Crimean Tatars.

Due to the Oghuz influence in modern Crimean and Dobrujan Tatar, the words display a *t* ~ *d*- alternation. The meaning, similarly to other Kipchak languages, seems to denote different nine-piece gift sets given at engagements or weddings and at other important events, such as the traditional wrestling or racing festivals. According to an ethnographic description, a *dokuz* consisted of the following items in the Bakhchisaray district: *kise* ‘tobacco pouch’, *saat-χane* ~ *saat kap* ‘watch-case’, *yemen yavluq* ‘kerchief with which the henna is tied to the hand of the groom’, *yader yavluq* ‘kerchief to cover the henna bowl’, two *kol'mek* ‘shirt(s)’, *çorap bay* ‘sock suspenders’, *uçkur* ‘string for fastening trousers’, *yipişli kuşak* ‘marriage belt’, *yedegi yavluq* ‘kerchief/shawl as souvenir’ (Abljamitova 2008: 25). Among the Noghays in Gebze (Turkey), the *tokuz* was given by the groomsman to the young men who accompanied the newly married couple to the house of the groom. It consisted of nine pieces, socks, handkerchiefs, towels etc. put on a table cloth (Koksall 1996: 77). In Turkish, I could not find the ‘gift’ meaning of *dokuz*, if ever existed, it has faded away.

Abbreviation

Alt = Altay, see Radloff 1960; Baskakov – Toščakova 1947.

Ar = Arabic; see Wehr 1980.

AtH = Arat 1951.

Az = Azeri, see Orucov, Ə. et al. 2006; Tağıyev et al. 2006.

BarT = Baraba Tatar, see Radloff 1960.

Bšk = Bashkir, see Ahmerov 1958.

CrK = Crimean Karaim, see Aqtay – Jankowski 2015; Baskakov et al. 1974.

CrT = Crimean Tatar, see Useinov 2008.

DobT = Dobrujan Tatar, see Karahan 2011.

DS = Derleme Sözlüğü.

ED = Clauson 1972.

- Kar = Karaim, see Baskakov et al. 1974.
 Kirg = Kirghiz, see Judahin 1965.
 Kklp = Karakalpak, see Baskakov 1953.
 Krčk = Krymchak, see Rebi 2004.
 KrčM = Karachay-Malkar, see Tavkul 2000; Tenišev – Sujunčev 1989.
 Kum = Kumyk, see Bammatov 1969.
 Kum/blk = Kumyk, Balkar, see Németh 1911.
 Kyz = Kyzyl, see Radloff 1960.
 Kzk = Kazakh, see Koç et al. 2003; Shnitnikov 1966.
 Nog = Noghay, see Baskakov 1963.
 Per = Persian, see Steingass 1975.
 R = Radloff 1960.
 Tar = Taranchi/Uyghur, see Radloff 1960.
 Tat = Tatar, see Ganiev 2005; Koç et al. 2003.
 TESz = Benkő 1967.
 Tkm = Turkmen, see Baskakov et al. 1968.
 TMEN = Doerfer 1963–1975.
 Tob = Tobol Tatar, see Radloff 1960.
 TS = Tarama Sözlüğü.
 TTIL = Ganiev 2005.
 TTu = Turkish, see Redhouse 1974.
 Tuv = Tuvan, see Tenišev 1968.
 Uyg = Uyghur, see Nadžip 1968.
 UygD = Uyghur dialects, see Jarring 1964.
 Uzb = Uzbek, see Borovkov 1959.
 WrMo = Written Mongolian, see Lessing 1973.
 Yak = Yakut, see Pekarskij 1907–1930.
 YUyg = Yellow Uyghur, see Malov 1957.

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The Presence of Shamanism in Kazakh and Hungarian Folklore

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1. Shamanistic worldview in Kazakh and Hungarian Folktales

Shamanism is deeply rooted in the worldview of the Altaic peoples, especially the Kazakhs. As the renowned Kazakh scholar from the nineteenth century, Shokhan Ualihanov, put it: 'Shamanism is the religion created by humans to have their wishes granted by otherworldly powers, to get in contact with harmless and harmful spirits, to save humans from the negative actions of bad spirits and to maintain humanity in harmony with the various spirits (*pari*, *aurah*, the spirit of the dead and others as well). Kazakhs are Muslims but they believe in shamanism as well. This is true even in this day. Over the centuries shamanistic and Muslim beliefs have mixed: Kazakhs believe in Allah, but they also say prayers to *aurahs*; they continue to believe in *baksys* (Kazakh name for 'shamans') but they also respect pilgrims. That is how the Kazakh belief system is, with all its contradictions; that is what they believe in' (Ualihanov 1993, 9). These words are true to the 20th century and they remain true these days with regards to certain Muslim Turkic peoples in Central Asia.

The aesthetic aspect of research requires attentive study. We can find a great many motifs related to the pre-Islamic beliefs of the Kazakh and to shamanism in Kazakh folklore. Why did I compare Kazakh folklore with that of the Hungarians? Hungarian scholars attempt to study the worldview system of pre-conquest Hungarians and turn to the shamanistic beliefs and folklore of other related people (Mansi, Khanty) and of Altaic people which had similar cultural traditions. And why is it not possible to do the other way round? In the study of original shamanism, pre-conquest Hungarian folklore can help us, because it preserved in itself ancient shamanistic elements that are present in their certain beliefs, myths, fairy tale motifs and ritual songs.

1.1. The Center of the World and the Column of the World (The Shaman's Tree)

One of the concepts in Altaic folklore (namely Kazakh literature) is based on the premise that the world is represented as a single unit. Its main motif is the center of the world. Hungarians alternately use the expression 'world' and 'Earth'; therefore, it is also possible to say the 'center of the Earth', as well. Kazakhs prefer the use of

the center of the Earth expression. They also refer to a middle-aged person as “someone having reached the center of the Earth” (Kazakh: *жер ортасына жеткен адам* = *zher ortasyina zhetken adam*).

The center of the Earth, or the navel of the Earth (*föld köldöke*) in the Hungarian folk songs, is generally either a place in beautiful natural surroundings or a place where there is a bigger town. The well-known folklorist, János Berze-Nagy explains that certain peoples of Asian origin (Turkic peoples) call the center of the Earth ‘the navel of the Earth’ since in their world view the world is a human being (Berze-Nagy 1961, 109). It is also a well-known fact that the word navel in Hungarian (*köldök*) is of Turkic origin.

The world tree holds up the sky and serves as the connection between the sky and the navel of the Earth, therefore Hungarians also refer to it as the ‘column of the world’.

In Hungarian fairy tales it reaches all the way up to the sky, and on top of it there is a world just like on the Earth. Its roots reach down to the underground hell. According to folk beliefs this tree has its own spirit.

There are a lot of beliefs and mythical motifs surrounding this world tree in the folklore of the Turkic peoples. “There stands a gigantic pine in the navel of the Earth, the tallest of all trees in the center of all” as Radloff quotes a Tatar saga (Radloff in Berze-Nagy 1961, 127). Kazakhs and the Kyrgyz consider this tree, growing in the steppe, to be sacred and hang articles of human clothing on it, similarly to other peoples with shamanistic traditions.

2. Gaining Shamanic knowledge

2.1. Climbing the Sky-reaching Tree

The image of the shaman’s tree can also be found in Kazakh folk tales. In the Kazakh fairy tale of ‘*Zharti Tyostik*’ (*Жарты Төстік*), if the hero’s father climbed the tree with one trunk and two branches in the morning then he got back down at noon, if he climbed it at noon then he got back down in the evening. The boy was mesmerized by his father’s journey up the tree, and therefore wanted to climb it as well. When he did, he saw a large group of wanderers coming his way: little boys coming all in one straight line, all singing, following them were young men and young women, and finally old men and old women. This was the mirage of past times as his father explained to him. The hero of the Kazakh fairy tale ends up in the Underworld as he keeps searching for this mirage and how the hero’s underworld adventure begins (Khazakh ertegileri 2000, 66).

The most famous Hungarian folk tale about the world tree is ‘The Tree that reached the Sky’ (*Az égigérő fa*). In this folk tale Jancsi, the king’s swineherd climbed to the top of the tree and there found a world identical to the one below.

Jancsi found a town where he freed a girl from a dragon's lair (777 magyar népmese 1995, 423).

The following remarks about the Asian origin of the sky reaching tree are made by Berze-Nagy, "The concept of the tree that reached the sky and all the relevant notions did not enter the Hungarian imagery during the Middle Ages or through the codices; they had already been since our Asian days and most of these motifs are preserved in the folktales and traditions." (Berze-Nagy 1961, 128).

Vilmos Diószegi dedicated a whole chapter to the concept of the shaman's tree in his book 'The Shamanistic Remnants in Hungarian Folklore' which is a significant motif in Hungarian shamanism. The old *táltos* (Hungarian shaman) climbed the tree. At the top of this tree he could meet and talk to people who were long dead. As Diószegi points out this tree can be found in the folklore of all Altaic peoples with shamanistic traditions (Diószegi 1958, 270–293).

There are two different types of this tree mentioned: one with a regular tree trunk and another one, a notched tree shaped like a ladder (Diószegi 1958, 20). It is the latter type that is depicted in folk tales about 'the tree that reached the sky': "...when the boy reached the seventh branch of the tree he found a ladder which he could easily climb." (777 magyar népmese 1995, 424). Seven branch's represent the view of people with shamanistic beliefs that the world (the Underworld and sky) is made of seven levels – Kazakh: *жети қат көк* – 'seven level sky'; Kazakh: *жети қабат жер асты* – 'seven level underground'.

"According to Buryat beliefs the shaman's soul goes to heaven during its upward journey on the ladder... While the young shaman is up on the tree he or she calls for the helping spirits for guidance and conveys the wishes of these spirits to the people of the world underneath." (Diószegi 1983, 68).

2.2. 'Being chopped up' by the Dragon

There is another important motif of shamanism which is connected to the tale 'The Tree that reached the Sky' (Hungarian: *Az égigérő fa*) namely when the hero is chopped into bits and pieces by the dragon. Having freed the girl, the fleeing János is caught by the dragon, and his body is chopped into many pieces by the beast. The dragon collects all the pieces into a sack, ties it to the back of a horse and directs this horse towards the castle. The dragon then leaves with the girl. Along the way the horse meets a snake with some grass in its mouth. This grass turns out to have vivifying powers. When it comes into contact with János's chopped up body, the slain hero immediately comes back to life, as if he is only awakening from a long sleep. From this moment onward, János can cure anybody he meets on his journey, as he himself now possesses the power to heal (Illyés, 77 magyar népmese, 43).

The Hungarian scientist Vilmos Diószegi writes about the process of how the shamans gain their knowledge: "There are several motifs in the treasury of Hungarian folk tales where the hero is chopped up into pieces then brought back to life and afterwards he becomes a 'healer' himself." (Diószegi 1983, 92).

The hero of the ‘Tale of Rózsa the Brave’ (*Rózsa vitéz*) obtains his strength the same way. “And then a snake with the head of a beautiful girl crawled out of the bush and gathered every little piece of Rózsa’s body and put it nicely together, saying: this goes here, this goes there. She rubbed healing herbs on it and brought living-dead water from a nearby spring and sprinkled it with that. She repeated this three times and Rózsa gained more and more strength through the process.” (777 magyar népmese 1995, 145).

This motif is present in the Kazakh folk tale of the ‘Golden Bird’ (*Алтын құс*): “It gathered up the body and the head of the hero, rubbed it with a leaf and the young man lifted his head and awoke with the words: Oh, I have been sleeping for so long” (Kazakh ertegileri 2000, 6).

And this has provided a direct link to the concept of the future *táltos* in Hungarian mythology; similarly to the belief-system of other shamanistic peoples three major paths can be distinguished when it comes to the *táltos*’ rite of passage: selection through physical illness, long/extensive sleep, being chopped up and gaining knowledge through slight physical abnormalities like having ‘extra bones’ or the act of the *táltos*’ initiation by climbing the sky-reaching tree (Diószegi 1959, 16).

2.3. Travelling through the Underworld

2.3.1. The Griffin as a Helper of the Shaman

Travelling through the Underworld is one of the main criteria of gaining shaman knowledge. During his wanderings in the Underworld Kazakh folk hero Er Tyosztik (*Ер Төстік*) stumbles upon a gigantic oak tree with a bird nest; he then saves the young nestlings from the snake. The grateful griffin Alp-Karakus offers to fly the young lad back up to the world.

In the Hungarian version of this folk tale they set off on the journey and when the griffin glanced back at the lad over its right shoulder he gave the bird some meat and when it glanced back at him over its left shoulder he gave it some water.

There are two entirely different beginnings to these journeys mentioned in the folk tales of the Hungarian and Kazakh nations. In the Kazakh tale the Earth could not take the weight of the hero’s horse, Shalkuryik any longer; the Earth parted and swallowed the horse with the hero, Er Tyostik on its back and that is how he got to the Underworld (Kazakh ertegileri 2000, 12). This motif is in the folklore of most of the Altaic people. It is rather common in Kazakh tales as well. The ‘Tale of Zharti Tyostik’ is a good example. In Kazakh fairy tale the hero finds himself in the Underworld having followed an elf called Zhermistan; he is four inches tall with a five-inch beard and leads the hero to an underground road no wider than an ant’s trail.

In the Hungarian folk tale, the hero gets to the Underworld either by attempting to rescue the king's daughter or by falling into a hole that leads to the Underworld while chasing a similar elf. This elf, who is stealing his life day-by-day, is seven inches tall with a very long beard.

The hero saves the king's daughter and wants to send her back above the ground but his friends reach the other, worldly realm before he does; they pull the girl back up to the Earth but lend no helping hand to *Vasgyúró* ('Iron Man'), leaving the hero in the Underworld (777 magyar népmese 1995, 443). During his wanderings in the Underworld he comes upon a gigantic oak tree with a bird nest; he then saves the young nestlings from the snake. The grateful griffin offers to fly the young lad back up to the world above and orders him to take plenty of meat and water on the flight. So they set off on the journey and ... when the griffin glanced back at the lad over its right shoulder he gave the bird some of the meat and when it glanced back at him over its left shoulder he gave it some water. The griffin looked back more and more often the closer they got to the world above and demanded to be fed even after there was neither water nor meat left. There was only one thing left to do, so *Vasgyúró* carved a piece out of his own thigh, which is what he fed to the bird. By then they were getting really close to their goal and they could even see daylight. As soon as they arrived the griffin asked *Vasgyúró*:

- You, human, what was it that you last fed me?
- That was a piece carved out of my own thigh.

This is a reoccurring scene in the Tale of Zharti Tyostik: "Having gathered enough food and water they set out for their journey. If the bird gave this look the lad offered it some meat, if it gave that look he offered it some water. Soon they ran out of both water and meat.

– Oh, what should we do now? I feel rather frail and we are beginning to fall – said Samurik.

- Close your eyes! – came the answer.

As soon as he did so, they softly descended to the ground, right by the trunk of a tree. Samurik asked the young lad:

- That final piece of meat; where did that come from? It was rather delicious.
- That happened to be the meat of my own thigh, –answered Zharti Tyostik.
- Show me, which one!
- Look! – he said as he revealed his wound to the bird.

The griffin *tifú* spat out the meat of his thigh and it healed back in its place right there and then." (Khazakh ertegileri 2000, 66).

The hero offers his eye instead of water and carves a piece out of his own body to feed the griffin in the Kazakh tale of the 'Giant Bear' (*Аюдай*).

The griffin mentioned in the Hungarian 'Tale of the Son of the White Horse' (*Fehérló fia*) produces a special healing potion from under its wings and pours it onto the young hero's wounds, which heal immediately (777 magyar népmese 1995, 443). Similarities even in minute details like the ones mentioned above provide more proof for the Eastern origin of the Hungarian tales.

The griffin and the snake both play significant parts in Kazakh and Hungarian mythologies. But what kind of notions could the characters of the Underworld snake and griffin be based upon? The griffin is an eagle-like mythical bird. According to E. Margulan the eagle-myth is a remnant of the pastoral nomadic peoples living in the Ural and Altai mountains (Margulan, Alkej 1985, 367). It is easy to discover a correlation between the eagle-myth of these Altaic people and the eagle-myth found in the treasury of Hungarian folk tales, considering that Hungarian ancestors used to live somewhere in the Ural mountains before they settled in the Carpathian Basin in Europe. The fact that Hungarians have up to this day preserved their falconry tradition provides further proof for this theory. Álmos, the leader of the Hungarian tribes, was not fathered by a man, but by the bird *turul* as the saga says –to mention a different example. In Hungarian mythology *turul* is a great bird resembling a falcon or an eagle.

The griffin in Kazakh and Hungarian folklore is often depicted in the Underworld. Er Tyostuk, the hero of the Kazakh tale, meets Alp Karakus, the mythical bird, in the underworld. In Hungarian it lives in its underground golden castle in the ‘Tale of the Black Eagle King’ (*Fekete sas-király*). The king’s son-in-law descends to the Underworld and finds the eagle’s golden castle. The dragon chops his body into pieces, but snakes heal him, so the young man returns to the world of the living. He rescues the king’s daughter with the help of the snakes, who follow him to the surface of the world. This tale is another example of the eagle and the snake appearing together; the eagle is represented as the enemy of man while the snake acts as man’s helper.

2.3.2. *The Snake as the Shaman’s Teacher*

The snake with a crown on its head is depicted as the advocate of beneficence in Hungarian sagas and tales. According to a certain legend as Géza Nagy cites, the Scythians were born from a snake-bodied mother (Géza Nagy in Diószegi 1971, 381). In one Hungarian folk tale a childless woman gave birth to a child with a human head and a snake’s body (777 magyar népmese 1995, 419).

There are numerous beliefs, patterns and superstitions concerning snakes in Hungarian folklore: Hungarians believe that a snake spotted by a house the placed is protected. If a person kills a snake it is believed that someone living in his house will die. Whoever brakes of a snake’s eggs brings misery and trouble onto himself (Diószegi 1971, 381 –382). There are numerous references in Hungarian folk tales about the metamorphosis of the snake. As in the ‘Tale of the Little Snake’: “While a shepherd was watching his flock of sheep he lit a fire. There happened to be a little snake in this the fire. It was pleading to the shepherd to free him from the fire by using the crook of his staff. The Little Snake was not ungrateful, and in the end, it gave the shepherd the key to all languages.” (777 magyar népmese, 628).

In another tale a childless woman, who is walking around in a garden spots a snake climbing a tree and exclaims: “Oh, I wish I had a child even if it looked like that snake!”. Not much later she did become pregnant and gave birth to a child with a human head but with a snake’s body (777 magyar népmese 1995, 419).

3. The Dragon in Hungarian Folklore: Anthropomorphic Demon with Ural-Altaic Origins

From a mythological standpoint the dragon is closely related to the snake. As W. Bang points out, the word *sárkány* ‘dragon’ can be traced back to the Bulgar-Turkic word of *sharakan*, which means hissing and poison-spitting (Bang 1918, 37). From a mythological standpoint the dragon is closely related to the snake. S. Khaskhabasov describes the dragon as a gigantic snake (Khaskhabasov 2000, 326)

The most interesting Hungarian folk tale featuring a dragon is the ‘Tale of King Little Michael’ (*Király Kis Miklós*). As the king is not willing to allow the dragon to marry his daughter, the vengeful beast steals the sun, the moon and the stars from the sky. Király Kis Miklós takes the stars back and cuts the dragon’s seventh head off as well: “And off they went through several lands until they reached the silver forest. They tied down the horse at the edge of the forest; the younger brother stayed with the horse, so no wild animal preyed on it. Király Kis Miklós marched up to the silver bridge and cut out one of its planks with his sword. The seven headed dragon came that way and his horse tripped on the bridge. The seven-headed dragon said:

– Dogs should drink your blood. Seven years I have traveled on this bridge and you haven’t tripped once. What is the reason today?

The horse answered:

– Fire for me, water for you, we must both perish.

The seven-headed dragon got off its horse and said:

– Király Kis Miklós, come out from under the bridge; you were no bigger than a fraction of a grain of millet when I already knew that I was going to have to duel you.

As Király Kis Miklós came out the seven headed dragon asked him:

– Shall we duel with our bare hands, by sword or by staff?

Király Kis Miklós replied:

– Dogs fight without weapons, herdsman use staffs, the valiant fight with the sword.

So, they fought each other by sword. And Király Kis Miklós was valiant during the fight and he cut off six of the dragon’s heads. The seven-headed dragon pleaded with Király Kis Miklós:

– Király Kis Miklós, please, leave me this one head and I will give you the stars.

– Alright, where are they? – said Király Kis Miklós.

– Over there, under my saddle cloth, – the dragon replied.

Király Kis Miklós took the stars and cut off the dragon's seventh head as well." (777 magyar népmese 1995, 569–671). He took the Moon from the twelve headed dragon and the Sun from the twenty-two-headed dragon in a similar way.

Similar to the stumbling of the hero's horse in many Turkic folk tales, the event is an omen of evil to come, the tripping of the dragon's horse signifies danger.

The dialogue between the dragon and the hero about the type of duel is another typical characteristic of Kazakh tales:

– Shall we wrestle or duel each other with a bow and an arrow?

– Oh, come on, even my grandfather knew how to shoot with an arrow and even my great-grandfather knew how to wrestle. We shall duel each other with spears. (Excerpt from the tale 'Black Duck' *ҚараҮйпек* – Khazakh ertegileri 2000, 257)

Described by the ethnographer, Sándor Solymossy, "A typical dragon has an enormous, lizard-like body covered with an armor of scales and its reptilian tale resembles a whip. There are four short legs in its midsection with predatory claws and leathery wings reminiscent of bats; it has a strong, crested neck upon which rests a big, crocodile-type head with a huge opening for a mouth and teeth in a thick row..." (Solymossy 1991, 71). Solymossy is convinced that the image of this animal is a projection of the Paleolithic Era pterodactyl, ichthyosaurus and brontosaurus.

Sándor Solymossy explains that the dragon figure usually mentioned in Hungarian tales is an anthropomorphic demon capable of riding a horse. It wears a belt around its waist, carries a sword and lives in an underground castle surrounded by girls it snatched from the world above. He expands upon this depiction of tales as follows: "It is an enlarged human-like but distorted creature with the characteristics of a demon. The fact that it tethers the sun, the moon and the stars onto its saddle can only be based on the figure of the horsemen of the plains [...] There is a clear distinction between the dragon figures of eastern and western origins; one could claim that the western dragon figure is the direct result of Indo-Germanic influences, where as the eastern dragon figure – depicted in Hungarian folktales as well – is the manifestation of the Asian nomadic spirit of the Uralic and Altaic people." (Solymossy 1991, 92).

Conclusion

There are numerous and unmistakable remnants of the shamanistic worldview, belief-system and aestheticism in Hungarian folk tales. As I was reading these Hungarian tales, I realized how similar they were to the Kazakh ones both in their atmosphere and world beliefs. One can detect Turkic imagery, not only in the fundamental characteristics of these stories, but in their plot and descriptive language, as well. It is no exaggeration to claim that these tales are the manifestation of the way of life, belief-system and aestheticism of the Turkic peoples and their Asian nomadic spirit. By comparing the shamanistic elements in Kazakh and

Hungarian fairy tales and consulting related research, I have concluded that there is an ever-present, strong need to conduct further research into this topic, and to foster the preservation of the identity of these nations in comparison with other peoples of the Altaic group, such as the Yakut, Kyrgyz, Tatar etc. Shamanism should be examined as a system of worldviews which existed in the oldest levels of our culture, especially from an ethno-cultural aspect as this culture contains archetypes of the deeply historic ethnic consciousness of the Kazakhs.

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The Prince and the Sultan.
The Sublime Porte's Practice of
Confirming the Power of Christian Vassal Princes
Based on the Example of Transylvania

Sándor Papp*

با عرض سلام و احترام
بندۀ ناچیز سرکار عالی ،
پاپ شاندور

The power structure of the Ottoman Empire was quite diverse, and the flexibility of their rule is shown by the fact that their system of autonomy in religion, communities and states survived up to the modernization of the 19th century. In order to examine the individual areas not in isolation, but instead from the perspective of the empire, it is necessary to make a comparative analysis of similar structures.¹

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1 Panaite, V. *Pace, război și comerț în Islam. Țările Române și dreptul Otoman al popoarelor (secolele XV–XVII.)* București, Editura B.I.C. ALL1999.; Panaite, V. *The Ottoman Law of War and Peace. The Ottoman Empire and Tribute Payers. East European Monographs*, New York, 2000. Columbia; Panaite, V. *The Ottoman Law of War and Peace. The Ottoman Empire and Its Tribute Payers from North of Danube*. Leiden – Boston, Brill 2019²; Papp, S. Die Inaugurationen der Krimkhane durch die Hohe Pforte (16–18. Jahrhundert). In: *The Crimean Khanate between East and West (15th–18th Century)*. Klein, D. (ed.) 2012. Wiesbaden, 2012. 75–90. Harrassowitz Verlag. (Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte Bd. 78.); Panaite, V. The Legal and Political Status of Wallachia and Moldavia in Relation to Ottoman Porte. In: Kármán, G & Kunčević, L. (eds) *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Leiden – Boston, 2013, 9–42. Brill; Papp, S. The System of Autonomous Muslim and Christian Communities, and States in the Ottoman Empire. In: Kármán G & Kunčević L. (eds) *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Leiden, Boston 2013, 375–419; Papp, S. Gesetzliche Garantien für die christlichen Gemeinden im Osmanischen Reich. Überlegungen zur Vertragsurkunden der Franziskaner in Bosnien im Kontext der Diskussion um das Millet-

Researchers studying the state structure of the Ottoman Empire sharply differentiate between those vilayets and sanjaks where it was possible to observe an arrangement that is considered classical, and those that retained in some form the internal structures from prior to their conquest, in some cases even their ruling dynasties. The phrase vassal state has been used in relation to the history of the Ottoman Empire by European professional literature, but this currently seems to be in the process of being replaced by the term tributary state, which can be traced back to the Ottoman terminology of *haracgüzâr* (tributary). This term was generally in widespread use for vassal states, even when certain Muslim and Christian states never paid tribute. In Ottoman terminology, it is primarily the terms *teba'a* and *tebâ'iyet* that appear for vassal states. In every case, the Ottoman Empire considered the vassal states to be a part of their own imperial territories, the *memâlik-i mahrûse* (the well-protected empire). In addition to the possible payment of tribute, the subservience was underlined by the naming of services and stressing the sultan's *right of investiture* over the vassal rulers. This is the point in which the circumstances of Transylvania are of prominent significance to international Ottoman research, namely that only this Ottoman vassal state has essentially complete surviving source materials related to a century and a half of the sultan's practice of installing rulers. The sources on the sultan's appointment of princes related to the 16th century are even available to researchers in published form.²

In the following, I will discuss a new method, the *temporary* confirmation of the sultans. This type of legal act seems to be unknown in the case of other vassal states. The procedure of the appointment presents the structural system for the handover of power that had developed by the middle of the 17th century.

The prototype: the first confirmation and appointment of György II Rákóczi by the sultan during his father's lifetime (1642)

The Transylvanian envoys, István Serédy and Mihály Maurer arrived in Constantinople on the 3rd of May 1642 to begin the negotiations for the sultan to confirm the son of prince György Rákóczy I (1630–1648), György II Rákóczi (1642–1660) *in the ruling times of his father*. In accordance with tradition, they were ceremonially received before the city gates, and the Sublime Porte's Hungarian

System. In: Born, R. Puth, A. *Osmanischer Orient und Ostmitteleuropa. Perzeptionen und Interaktionen in den Grenzregionen zwischen dem 16. und 18. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner. 2014, 301–320.

2 Papp, S. *Die Verleihungs-, Bekräftigungs- und Vertragsurkunden der Osmanen für Ungarn und Siebenbürgen. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung*. Wien, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003.

translator Zülfikar agha³ was present with his son and 28 chiauses. The number of chiauses always indicated the opinion about the prince. The next day the vizier, Kemankeş Kara Mustafa pasha (1638–1644) sent the Hungarian translator to inquire if they had the gifts sent for the sultan and for him. They opened the chests and the agha appraised the value of the silver items, which the envoys said were greater in weight than they actually were. The agha recalculated their value and found the total value of 6 thousand thalers to be much too small. The envoys claimed that the country does not customarily pay for the issuance of the insignia of appointment and the *ahdname* (imperial pledge) – at least according to the reasoning of the prince – and wanted to avoid the financial demands. They even denied that they had cash.

The haggling went on in the manner customary in the bazaars of the oriental world for the issuance of the imperial pledge of the sultan. They promised Zülfikar, as the intermediary, an additional payment of 500 thalers, while obtaining the concession that it would not be necessary to pay the sultan cash. However, in the case of the grand vizier the agha only agreed to the reduction of the amount to 8 thousand thalers.⁴

Zülfikar continued to uphold the promise that if the prince were to devote a small expense to him, then he would be able to achieve other goals, such as regaining Ottoman support for the seven counties in Upper Hungary that were under the rule of the Habsburg Hungarian king, but which Gábor Bethlen (1613–1629) had held. Through skillful political negotiation, they could have had the pretender to the throne Mózes II Székely,⁵ the posthumous son of the prince of Transylvania Mózes I Székely (1602–1603) who had been living in Yedikule Fortress in Constantinople since 1636, sent to Rhodes or Cyprus where he would not have been able to plot against the prince as much. Mózes II Székely's situation was genuinely uncertain, which is shown by the fact that he had not been given an allowance by the Sublime Porte for months.⁶ Later, the prince was quite annoyed at the envoys that they had passed up this excellent opportunity.

However, they could not have done anything about this, since they had to concentrate on a much more serious issue than the possibility of being rid of Mózes II Székely, something that put their efforts up to that point in doubt. The grand vizier Kemankeş Kara Mustafa (1638–1644) ordered the members of the delegation to his office on the 11th of May. Several of those in attendance wrote reports on what was

3 Kármán, G. Zülfikár aga portai főtölmács (Zülfikar Agha, Translator of the Sublime Porte). *Aetas*, 31, 3, (2016), 54–76; Kármán G. Grand Dragoman Zülfikar Aga. *Archivum Ottomanicum* 35/1(2018), 5–29.

4 Szilágyi S. & Szilády Á. *Török-magyar államokmánytár* 1870. (henceforth TMÁOT) Volume 2, 102–103. 08 May 1642. Mihály Maurer's report to György I Rákóczi.

5 Papp, S. Egy Habsburg követ, Simon Reniger oszmán kapcsolathálózata Konstantinápolyban. Vezírek, muftik, magyar renegátok. *Aetas*, 31/3(2016), 40–52; Papp, S. Omanische Funktionäre im Informationsnetz des kaiserlichen Residenten in Konstantinopel Simon Reniger (1649–1666). *Chronica: Annual of the Institute of History University of Szeged* 19(2019), 24–41.

6 TMÁOT 3, 102–103. 08 May 1642. Michael Maurer's report to György I Rákóczi.

said during this meeting. The tension was caused by the grand vizier proposing that instead of the insignia of the prince expected by the Transylvanians, that is, the banner, saber, scepter and horse as well as the imperial pledge of the sultan, he would only provide a lower-level confirmation. He did not want to grant the horse and the *ahdname* of the sultan, which is the imperial pledge, the highest level of documents for appointment for the vassal ruler. This type of document was also issued in the case of peace treaties and commercial agreements with independent states. The grand vizier cited that in reference to the imperial pledge of sultan Süleyman (1520–1566), the *ahdnames* of István Bocskai (1604–1606), Gábor Báthori (1608–1613), Gábor Bethlen (1613–1629) and Catherine of Brandenburg (1627, 1629–30) stated the successor would only be confirmed following the death of the prince and only after this would the insignia of the prince be issued from the Sublime Porte. The grand vizier interpreted the law in such a way that since the prince had not died, an *ahdname* could not be granted to his successor, only a letter under the seal (*tuğra*) of the sultan. The ambassador István Serédy touched upon the following in his response, “When István Báthori [1571–1586] was to assume the kingdom of Poland, the election of Kristóf Báthori [1575–1581] took place and was confirmed by the Sublime Porte, and this was the case for Zsigmond Báthori [1581–1602] and Princess Catharina. The final conclusion of this matter would be that our magnificent emperor understood that letter, which had been written by your grace and by a noble country, and he also understood the intentions of the legation.” At the same time, for the first time it came up that the reduction of the tribute granted to Gábor Bethlen, as a result of which the tribute that had been 15 thousand ducats was lowered to 10 thousand ducats with the ceding of fortress of Lippa (Lipova today’s Romania), was canceled by the Sublime Porte, and they began to demand the increase in tribute as a condition for inauguration by the Sublime Porte.⁷

Following a meal, they brought the special gifts to the grand vizier, with the gold coins placed in a pile in addition to guns as well. The grand vizier bestowed 20 ducats to the permanent envoy István Rácz, 18 to envoy Mihály Maurer and around 40 to Zülfikar. The grand vizier received the envoys without ceremony in a simple tunic, and then following the talks visited the sultan at the Field of Davud Pasha. Returning later, he sent for Serédy for a personal discussion. Again, he asked him why the prince wanted to have his son confirmed, and whether he perhaps wanted a kingdom for himself somewhere.

The ambassador stood pat in his denials, but Mihály Maurer promised another 5 thousand thalers to Zülfikar if he could resolve the matters of avoiding the increase in tribute and obtaining the *ahdname*. The ambassador met another time that day

7 TMÁOT 3, 105-107. 15 May 1642. István Rácz’s report to György I Rákóczi. We also found data on the alteration of the Transylvanian tribute in the manuscript no. Mixt 174 held in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. This also shows that the compiler of the manuscript delved deeply into the relationships in the Sublime Porte at the time of György I Rákóczi. fol.: 54v. – 55v. “*Ber-müceb-i defter-i hazîne-i ‘amire ‘an tahvil voyvoda-i Erdel*”

with the grand vizier, who appeared more compliant prior to his visit with the sultan. Following his departure, Zülfikar considered the matter to be closed and demanded the so-called “*celebratory brioche*” fee ahead of time. At this time, the issue of the gift and money to be given to the grand vizier was brought up again. The negotiations came to 13 thousand thalers and a washbasin with a pitcher, but the other dignitaries that had participated in the matter also demanded sums of varying sizes. However, it is conspicuous that everyone was merely concerned with their own benefit, and they appeared to be far more liberal on the matter of the money and gifts for the sultan.⁸ In addition to the special gift, the regular annual gift had to be given to both the sultan and the grand vizier. This took place on the 17th of May, and it seemed that they were satisfied with the carriage for the sultan and the gifts handed over to his mother and the grand vizier.⁹

However, hopes were finally dashed on the 2nd of June. The permanent envoy István Rácz informed the prince that they had cited both the *ahdname* of sultan Suleyman and the letters of the prince and the estates in vain, as they did not receive what they wanted. The grand vizier held back the *ahdname* and the horse, but would send the banner, scepter, saber, cap and two kaftans for the prince, two for his son and ten for the counselors. However, a promise was made that the successor would receive the *ahdname* and the horse following the death of the older prince. It was declared for the first time on this day what type of document the Ottomans wanted to employ for a temporary confirmation. “Nevertheless, they will hand over a letter that they call a *berat*,¹⁰ so that after the death of your highness, they will recognize his majesty, his highness as the prince.” At the same time, they again began to demand the increase of the tribute of 5 thousand ducats.¹¹

Based on the above data, Sándor Szilágyi established in the Records of the Transylvanian National Assembly that an *ahdname* did not arrive, but György II Rákóczi was confirmed with a *berat*.¹² At the same time, in the pages of *Levelek és okiratok I. Rákóczi György keleti összeköttetései történetéhez* (Letters and Documents on the History of György I Rákóczi’s Eastern Connections) they cited the documents published in volume III of the *Török-magyar államokmánytár* (Turkish-Hungarian State Archives) as an explanation, which were translated by Áron Szilády from the work entitled *Correspondence of the Sultans* by Feridun bey. The document in question was described in both the original Turkish publication of sources and in the translation that it was the text of the *ahdname* issued to György II

⁸ TMÁOT 3, 109-110. 15 May 1642. Mihály Maurer’s report to György I Rákóczi.

⁹ Szilágyi, S. *Levelek és okiratok I. Rákóczi György keleti összeköttetései történetéhez*. Budapest 1883, 671. Constantinople, 19 May 1642. István Rácz to György I Rákóczi.

¹⁰ Also called *nişan*, document of appointment or confirmation of the vassal rulers, in addition this type of document was also used for the appointment of either Muslim and Non-Muslim subjects in the Ottoman Empire from ordinary soldiers even up to grand viziers.

¹¹ Szilágyi 1883: 674. Constantinople, 02 June 1642. István Rácz to György I Rákóczi.

¹² Szilágyi, S. (ed.) *Monumenta Comitatus Regni Transylvaniae. Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek*. 5, Budapest 1884, 62 (henceforth: EOE 10)

Rákóczi “while his father was still alive.”¹³ János Kósa in his book on György II Rákóczi resolved the seeming contradiction by hypothesizing that with further gifts it was possible to obtain the issuance of an imperial pledge of the sultan.¹⁴ This may be indicated by the invitation to the ceremony for the granting of the prince’s insignia, “the Turkish emperor and the Sublime Porte have accepted and affirmed the election of our beloved son, György Rákóczi to the position of prince; and as a true indication and proof according to the old custom of the Sublime Porte and the country the kapuji-bashi has been sent to us with the imperial banner, scepter, athname and other appropriate imperial gifts, and also has been solemnly sent to the new prince,” who since he was proceeding in national matters, wanted to receive him with great ceremony. The invitees had to go to Alba Iulia on the 2nd of July.¹⁵

If we continue to read the correspondence between the prince and his men working at the Sublime Porte, it is clear that György I Rákóczi was very dissatisfied. There is no evidence that they might have succeeded in having an imperial pledge of the sultan, or *ahdname*, issued, but instead just the opposite. All of their efforts were frustrated by the grand vizier’s stubbornness. Before continuing to follow the events, I will summarize the four factors that made up the turning points in the negotiations at the Sublime Porte, and which I will examine in detail below. The factors were the following: 1) Already on the 11th of May, so at the beginning of the talks, the Sublime Porte made it clear that it did not want to issue an imperial pledge of the sultan; 2) the grand vizier cited the “imperial pledge of Suleyman”, in which the automatic confirmation would only come following the death of the father, and with no strings attached; 3) the envoys knew of two events from Transylvanian history, the appointments of Kristóf Báthori in 1576 and of Catherine of Brandenburg in 1627, that could serve as models in the matter being negotiated; and 4) of the princely insignia, György II Rákóczi only received the *ahdname* and the horse following his father’s death, and until then had to be satisfied with a *berat*.

During the negotiations taking place to confirm the young prince, Transylvanian diplomacy was not prepared for the issuance of the imperial pledge of the sultan to be denied at the Sublime Porte. The reign of sultan Suleyman, which both parties cited as a model, in the 17th century had become a symbol of a lost golden age in all aspects. In the eyes of the Transylvanians, the *ahdname* he had issued meant even more than this. In the feudal public consciousness, the internal constitutional relationships of the country and the clearly definable leeway to act in external political matters were linked to this document, so it provided a kind of legitimacy for the rights of the ruler. However, this document did not in fact exist, despite the

13 TMÁOT 3, 116–120; Feridûn Ahmed Beg 1275² (1858). *Mecmû’a-i münşe’âtü s-selâtîn*. Volume 2, İstanbul, 470–471.

14 Kósa, J. II. Rákóczi György. Magyar életrajzok (Hungarian Biographies). Szekfü, Gy. (ed.) [Budapest], 18.

15 TMÁOT 3, 124–125. Alba Iulia, 16 June 1642. György I Rákóczi to Péter Sófalvai Gávai.

fact that it had become a part of a historical tradition that was not just based on fairy tales, as we have seen above.

The envoy of György I Rákóczi, István Rác, reported in detail about the negotiations that preceded his son, György II Rákóczi, receiving the confirmation as prince from the sultan while his father was still alive. He also informed the prince that the envoys would be departing for home on the 3rd of June and would be bringing with them the *kapuji-bashi* (*kapıcı başı*), who would arrive in the seat of the principality, Alba Iulia, for the investiture. György I Rákóczi was able to receive information about all of this in person from Mihály Maurer, who had been sent ahead.¹⁶ The response from Alba Iulia was already on its way to Constantinople on the 13th. György I Rákóczi was very angry that the envoys had left the Ottoman capital without his permission. He deemed that they had not proceeded in the spirit of their orders. If they had waited for his letters, then the matter would not have taken an unfavorable turn from him.”¹⁷ It can be seen that the prince considered the behavior of the Sublime Porte to be deceitful, because in spite of the promises of the grand vizier and the *şeyhülislam* and the great expenditures of the Transylvanians, it had not issued an *ahdname*, but instead a *berat*. He gave orders that the troublemaker Mózes II Székely, who was waiting to gain the throne of prince of Transylvania, should be removed from the Ottoman capital to Rhodes or Cyprus, so that he would no longer be able to meddle in Transylvanian affairs. The matter of the unsuccessful diplomatic maneuvering crops up from time to time for a few weeks in the correspondence of the prince and the envoy to the Sublime Porte, but then attention was drawn away from this by a much more pressing matter. This was the possibility of intervening in the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648), possible Ottoman support in joining the European anti-Habsburg alliance and most specifically, the taking back of the seven counties of Upper Hungary that were in Habsburg hands.¹⁸ Since the commissioners of the two great empires had renegotiated the continuance of the treaty of Zsitvatorok in Szőny in the spring of 1642, it was uncertain whether the Sublime Porte would give permission for military action.

Instead of the 2nd of July date that was indicated on the invitation, the ceremonial handover of the insignia of the prince took place on Tuesday the 8th, and this is reported on in an anonymous journal. Since there are not a great deal of these types of descriptions available, I consider it worthwhile to present the reception in detail. One of the confidants of the prince, Ákos Barcsai, joined the envoys arriving from the Sublime Porte in Transylvania, and they escorted the *kapuji-bashi*, Mustafa agha, to Szászsebes (Sebeş) on the 7th of July. The next day the procession set off from there to the seat of the prince in Alba Iulia. Preparations were also underway in the capital. Following the early morning church service, which the young prince attended with the counselors and the people of the court, György II Rákóczi returned

16 Szilágyi 1883, 674. 02 June 1642. István Rác to György I Rákóczi, Constantinople

17 Szilágyi 1883, 676–677. 13 June 1642. Alba Iulia, György I Rákóczi to István Rác.

18 TMAOT 3, 125–126; 131–132.

to the prince's audience chamber. From there, his father gave him his blessing and sent him back to his accommodations. During this time, the estates of the country prepared to march out on horseback. When the drum of the country was struck, the young prince joined them as well. The peers also joined the procession, led by the field armies and then the nobility that lived in the vicinity of Alba Iulia. This was followed by the thirty-two person escort of the young prince, and then ten lead horses that were richly decorated and equipped, expressing the majesty of the prince. Following the horses, György II Rákóczi marched with his closest escort, Zsigmond Rákóczi, Boldizsár Wesselényi, Ferenc Kornis, Zsigmond Barcsai, István Szalánczi, Simon Pécsi, Ferenc Rédey, István Haller and Zsigmond Kornis, who all rode alongside one another in threes. The young prince himself followed them, and behind him, a group of leading men marched, including Pál Bornemissza, the captain-general of the court cavalry, János Kemény and Ferenc Bethlen, the head steward. The ceremonial procession was closed by the people of the princely court and the court guard organized into four battalions. Seven hundred Hungarian and five hundred fifty infantrymen served as the military escort.

The escort of the *kapuji-bashi* was made up of thirty-nine people, and his son was also in attendance with him. They approached one another ceremonially. The Hungarian and German infantry of the court encircled an area where the first ceremony took place. The nearby mounted lancer units also appeared. First, the *kapuji-bashi* dismounted from his horse and approached the prince on foot. The young prince reciprocated this honor and dismounted from his horse along with his younger brother, counselors and ten leaders, as well as Pál Bornemissza, János Kemény and István Haller. Following the mutual words of greeting, the *kapuji-bashi* personally buckled the saber that was one of the insignia around the waist of the young prince. At the same time, he unbuckled his own saber from his belt and held it out to Mihály Monaki. The most important of the prince's insignia, the banner was handed over second, which the prince passed along to Mátyás Huszár. Third to be handed over was the ornamental mace that was referred to as a scepter, which Péter Haller received. Words of greeting again followed the bestowal of the sultan's insignia.

After the ceremony, everyone mounted their horses while the cannons sounded from the bastion. Mustafa agha was to the left, the young prince to the right, and they returned to Alba Iulia in the same order in which they marched out. The sultan's insignia of rule were brought ahead of the prince by the aristocrats that had received them from the young György Rákóczi when they were handed over. The procession accompanied the Ottoman delegation to their accommodations in the Gálfi House, where they bid them farewell but left a large escort alongside the Ottoman dignitary. Meanwhile, the Hungarian and German infantrymen marched into the market square and took their positions. The Ottoman pipers and drummers

escorted the prince up to the castle palace, on his way to his father.¹⁹ The “old” prince greeted the counselors and his son and gave them advice. While the young prince was in the palace with his father, the Hungarian and German infantry fired two salutes. The German soldiers then marched to their quarters but stopped on the way before the accommodations of the *kapuji-bashi*, where they also fired off a salvo. At 10 o’clock, the prince sent his carriage accompanied by numerous aristocrats and courtiers for Mustafa agha, who they escorted to the audience chamber. At the gate to the palace, the prince’s steward, Ferenc Bethlen, greeted the Ottoman dignitary and escorted him in to see his lord. György I Rákóczi rose from the table in deference to him. To his right stood the young prince, behind him Zsigmond Rákóczi and to his left the counselors. Mustafa kissed the hand and robe of the “old” prince, and then handed over the letters of the sultan and the grand vizier to him, György II Rákóczi and the estates, comprising six letters in all. At the same time, he presented two ceremonial robes, or kaftans, each to the young and the old prince. At this time, the *kapuji-bashi* placed upon the head of György II Rákóczi the “scofium embroidered cap”, which was the headwear of a janissary officer and was adorned with a decorative plume (*üsküf, börk*). Ten counselors also each received a kaftan. During the period before lunch, the old prince and his sons accompanied by the Turkish scribe had a talk with Mustafa agha and his entourage. Meanwhile, everyone else left the reception hall. After the meal together, during which the younger György Rákóczi sat at the prince’s right hand and Mustafa agha at his left, the participants in the ceremony went back to the audience chamber for a brief time, where the Ottoman envoy bid farewell and returned to his accommodations.²⁰

It may be apparent that the handover of the insignia did not occur at once, but took place in well-structured stages. There was some kind of customary order that stretched back to the 16th century for these events at the prince’s court. István Báthori’s insignia of confirmation were brought to Transylvania by the master falconer Mehmed agha. The delegation was much larger and more impressive, being comprised of two hundred people according to the chronicler. The *voivode* rode a mile out of Alba Iulia to greet the Ottoman dignitary and received the sultan’s banner there in the open, mounted on his horse, slightly different from described above. The Ottoman envoy and István Báthori also rode into the city alongside one another. The audience was held on the third day after this, and this was when there was the handover of the kaftans, the horse, the scepter (*sceptrum=topuz*) and

19 Although the source talks about the castle outside the city, it is clear on the basis of András Kovács’s book that there was no freestanding castle, just the fortified city, and within this, the prince’s palace. Kovács, A. *Késő reneszánsz építészet Erdélyben 1541-1720 (Late Renaissance Architecture in Transylvania 1541-1720)*. Budapest, Cluj-Napoca 2003, 75–83.

20 Szilágyi, S. *A két Rákóczi György fejedelem családi levelezése*. Budapest 1875, 237–244.

diadem, which here should not be understood as a crown, but instead a cap with a plume. Twenty-five counselors received kaftans during the investiture ceremony.²¹

György I Rákóczi could not help himself, and at the final reception on the 12th, he threw it in the face of the *kapuji-bashi* that the Sublime Porte had made such a mess of it. The Ottoman dignitary promised that the horse would also be bestowed, and perhaps they would send it after him. However, the prince did not lighten up, and stated that it should have been there already. Although the above matter affected György I Rákóczi very deeply, he also paid attention to other affairs in Constantinople. For weeks, he had corresponded on the matter of the purchase of several items with his agent (*kapitiha*) at the Sublime Porte, who wrote that he could offer 850 thalers for the 4 rugs in question, and if they sold them, then fine, if not, then they would keep the money.²² He showed similar “implacability” in the matter of the rugs as he did in connection with his son’s appointment.

Another *berat*: the confirmation of the prince Ferenc I Rákóczi during his father’s lifetime (1652)

György II Rákóczi called a national assembly on the 18th of February in Alba Iulia. The pressing reason for this was that he was suffering from such a serious case of smallpox that it could have been fatal. He asked the estates to elect his son, Ferenc Rákóczi, to be his successor while he was still alive. As with every similar case when preparations were made to place a child alongside his father, the example of Zsigmond Báthori and its sorrowful results came to mind. During the period called the Fifteen Years’ or Long Turkish War (1591/93–1606) the rule of the restless prince devastated Transylvania nearly completely.

The election took place along with the enactment of strict regulations on the 9th of March. János Kemény was appointed as the regent. However, by the time the national assembly had concluded, György II Rákóczi had recovered nicely. János Boros was sent to the Sublime Porte for the confirmation by the sultan.²³

Sándor Szilágyi wrote very briefly about the sultan’s confirmation of Ferenc Rákóczi in the *Erdélyi Országgyűlési Emlékekben* (Records of the Transylvanian National Assembly). His information was for the most part taken from the chronicle of the scribe from Georg Kraus. According to this, the insignia for confirmation

21 Papp 2003, 81–82; Forgách, F. Emlékirat Magyarország állapotáról. In: Borzsák István (ed.) Kulcsár, P (trans.) *Humanista történetírók*. Budapest 1977, 995–996; Majer F. *Ghymes Forgách Ferencz nagyváradi püspök Magyar Históriája 1540-1572, Forgách Simon és Istvánfi Miklós jegyzéseikkel együtt*. Pest 1866, 475.

22 Szilágyi 1883, 678–679. György I Rákóczi to István Rácz, 12 July 1642. Alba Iulia; TMÁOT 3, 120. István Rácz to György I Rákóczi. 11 June 1642. Constantinople.

23 Szilágyi S. *Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek. Monumenta Comitalia Regni Transylvaniae*. Volume 11, (henceforth EOE 11) Budapest 1886, 11, 21–24.

were brought in March by an agent by the name of Hasan. However, the prince was not satisfied with this, and so in September he announced another national assembly, which sent István Serédy, a diplomat who was already experienced in these matters, along with János Daniel, György Bánffy and the royal magistrate of Szászsebes (Sebeş today's Romania), Stephanus Mann, to rectify the "imperial pledge".²⁴

The confirmation by the sultan of the young prince ran into similar difficulties as that of György II Rákóczi ten years earlier. At first it seemed like everything would proceed in order, and the special and permanent envoys easily received the consent of the grand vizier with the help of the *kızlar aghası* (*kızlar agası*).²⁵ Szilágyi noted that the papers from this delegation were still lurking somewhere. Recently it has been possible to discover some of the Turkish documents related to the appointment of Ferenc I Rákóczi in Istanbul and in Göttingen.

It must be stated that Georg Kraus and Sándor Szilágyi who followed him were going down the wrong path. Naturally, the most obvious error was committed by Kraus, according to which Hasan pasha had already brought the insignia of appointment in March. The envoy of the Sublime Porte, who was identified as Elçi Haszon (Elçi Hasan) in the Transylvanian sources, did in fact go to Transylvania during the prince's illness.²⁶ The purpose of his journey was twofold, on the one hand, he had to provide information on whether the prince of Transylvania was alive and on the other hand, he was participating in a joint Ottoman–Habsburg border demarcation commission in Hungary.²⁷ However, one thing is certain, at this time there was not yet any talk of electing Ferenc I Rákóczi. Kraus thoroughly confused the events of this period, and it can be seen that for him the actual purpose of the envoy's trip was not what was important, but for him to work his anti-Hungarian speech given in Sebeş into his message. The group of insignia that were wanted could not have arrived before the Transylvanian delegation petitioned for Ferenc I Rákóczi's confirmation. The envoy Márton Boldai still mentions getting the grand vizier's permission in May.²⁸ However, the documents to be presented now all place the petition and the confirmation itself in the autumn and winter of 1652. I propose that the first steps thought to be for appointment could not have been anything other than preliminary requests for permission. If in connection with this, an order was prepared in the name of the sultan, that would not have been considered a final confirmation. An example such as this is known from later, when Mihály II Apafi

24 EOE 11, 23–24; Kraus, G. *Erdélyi krónika 1608–1665* Budapest 1994, 201.

25 Szilágyi 1874, 97. Constantinople, 28 May 1652. Kapitih Márton Boldai to György II Rákóczi.

26 Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Magyar Kamara Archívuma, Archivum Familiae Rákóczi, E190. 27. cs. 6566. Alba Iulia, 08 January 1652. János Kemény to György II Rákóczi; Publication: Szilágyi 1874, 92–94. The pasha of Buda also reports on this: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi E.6977; Papp 2016, 49–51; Papp 2020, 37–40.

27 Papp 2016, 40–52; Papp 2020, 24–41.

28 EOE 11, 23–24; Kraus 1994, 201.

was recognized as the future prince while his father was still alive.²⁹ All of this is just supposition in terms of Ferenc I Rákóczi, and there is no proof of it. The prince and the estates pleaded for the mercy of the sultan through a collective letter of petition, just as they had ten years earlier.³⁰ This document is known in Turkish translation. Several Transylvanian aristocrats signed the petition on behalf of the estates, and in the translation, it was also noted that the petition was authenticated by their seals above their names in the original. The document was issued in September (*bu 'ubûdiyet mahzarımız Erdel Belgrâdında evvelki güz ayının ibtidâsı gini sene 1652 târîh-i velâdet-i Hazret-i 'Îsâ 'm ('aleyhi s-selâm) yazıldı*). The argument of the estates was so similar to the petition following the election ten years previously that it can be hypothesized that they were prepared using the model of earlier documents. In essence, they cited that if the prince were to die, it will be the duty of the estates to elect a new ruler, but all of this would take time. Since they were surrounded by large and strong countries, it would be better if they were to avoid the danger inherent in the interregnum and elect the son of the prince to be the future prince while his father was still alive. They had decided on all of this in the national assembly that had been concluded, and requested that the sultan confirm their decision according to custom.³¹ Two documents were created due to this petition, or at least this many are known up to now. One was addressed to György II Rákóczi and in this, he was informed of the sultan's decision, according to which his son would be accepted as prince after his death, but until then he could not intervene in the matters of governance. In the manuscript at Göttingen it was considered necessary to mention that this document was not an *ahdname* of the sultan, just a *name*, or a letter (*bi-l-fi'l Erdel hâkimi olan Râkôcî Görgy ve Erdel memleketine tâbi' üç millet â'yânî 'arz u mahzarları ile ricâ eyledükleri 'ahdnâme vërlmëyüb işbu vërilen nâme-i hümâyûnuñ sûretidür fî sene 1063*. ["In the request of the current prince of Transylvania, György Rákóczi and the nobles of the three estates and their collective letter of petition, they have requested an imperial pledge, which has not been issued. [This] is a copy of the sovereign's letter in the year 1063.]) The document is in fact a response to the petition of the prince and the estates, which also repeats elements from the request. At the same time, it also differs in a few points from the previous *ahdnames*, and for example prohibits the voivodes of Moldavia and Wallachia being received if they rebel against Constantinople. It also blocks the immigration of *rayahs*, both from the voivodeships and from Ottoman

²⁹ Document of appointment of Mihály II Apafi. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Türkische Urkunde 1684. 11, 19–28. (Fragment of the original *berat*) („Fragment, Nachfolge Apáfy's in Siebenbürgen betrifft. Mitte Zilhidsche 1059 / Nov. 1684); Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, 4° Cod. MS. Manuscript Turcica 30. fol. 77r–77v; Its publication with a French translation: Veselá-Přenosilová, Z. Contribution aux rapports de la Porte Sublime avec la Transylvanie d'après les documents Turcs. *Archiv Orientální* 33(1965), 571–572.

³⁰ TMÁOT 7, 382–385.

³¹ Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (İstanbul) E. 6462.

territories. The insignia of the prince to come from the sultan were the following: two decorative kaftans, a banner of the sultan and a scepter, which they bestowed upon both the adult and child princes. The insignia of rule were brought by an internal official of the court, the *haseki-bashi* (the fifth officer of the *baltacı* / halberdier corps), Ahmed.³² Mention must also be made of the appointment letter itself. The confirmation document sent at this time has been unknown to the study of history to this point. Its copy can be found in the aforementioned manuscript from Göttingen under shelf guide Turcica 29, and it is a *berat*, not an *ahdname*.³³

The construction, structure and diplomatic analysis of the temporary letter of appointment (*berat*)

This document bears special value when examining the diplomatic links between Transylvania and the Sublime Porte in the 17th century. Namely, on the basis of this *berat* it has also been possible to form a clear opinion on the documentary materials related to the confirmation of the prince ten years earlier mentioned above. Without the document from the sultan appointing Ferenc I Rákóczi, it would not have been possible to perform the textual critical analysis that provides the basis for me to state that the 1642 letter of confirmation for György II Rákóczi known from the collection of Feridun bey and listed as an *ahdname* there, is instead a *berat*. From the comparison of the text of the two documents it becomes clear that the original *berat* of 1642 is essentially the same word-for-word as the document granted ten years later to Ferenc I Rákóczi. The question may arise about what was left out of the publication that could be supplemented by the manuscript in Göttingen. The elements that are missing are those that are indispensable for identifying the “type”, such as the long introductory section that states that the sultan, as the trustee of divine justice, fulfills the requests of those who turn to him as well as references to sections of the text of the Koran that are aimed at observing contracts and supporting beneficiaries. The Feridun publication for the most part included the details that were interesting from a political perspective, which state that the prince and the representatives of the three nationalities had petitioned for the confirmation of the young György Rákóczi while his father was still alive with the condition that he not be able to interfere in the exercise of power. The tribute had to be sent in time and if the voivodes of Moldavia or Wallachia were to rise up against the Sublime Porte and seek refuge there or immigrating rayahs came looking for a better life, they must be handed over. Based on these conditions, the prince and the estates requested the issuance of a *berat* of the sultan, which – with the renewed mention of the terms –

32 Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, 4^o Cod. MS. Manuscript Turcica 29. fol. 96v. –97r. The date is 20-30 Muharrem 1063 / 2-11 December 1652.

33 Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, 4^o Cod. MS. Manuscript Turcica 29. fol. 96r. –96v. The date is 20-30 Muharrem 1063 / 2-11 December 1652.

the sultan had fulfilled and appointed György II Rákóczi prince of Transylvania, but he would only be able to govern the country in actuality after the death of his father. The document repeatedly mentioned the surrender of the tribute on time, lawful rule and includes a recurrent formula, according to which the young György Rákóczi will be a friend to the sultan's friends and an enemy to his enemies. The text in the Feridun collection related to Ferenc I Rákóczi ends here, essentially in the middle of a sentence that states that a *kapuji-bashi* (head of the palace doorkeeper) would bring the insignia of the prince. The missing section is also worthy of attention. This is where the *berat* talked about how György II Rákóczi must do everything to protect the state and his subjects, who in return must consider him the prince after his father's death and must recognize his rule. The original text concluded with the customary formula, "Thus it is known, certify it with the noble mark (= *tugra*)!" A precise date was not included on the document, the currently unknown draftsman of the Feridun collection only provided the year.

The above structural elements are thus repeated in the case of Ferenc I Rákóczi as well, and the text is identical aside from having the names changed and minor stylistic differences. This is a quite natural occurrence. An element of diplomacy of this great importance, the installation of a vassal ruler into power, demands clear forms, grand, ceremonial phrasing, established ceremony and the reduction of improvisation to the extent possible by the sovereign power. Differences from the usual always suggest the development of a new structure of political power, which requires the alteration of the ceremonies as well as the symbols, insignia and documents used.

Therefore, there is no wonder that *berats* based on the same logic and using very similar expressive terminology and content were prepared for the vassal rulers of the period. Very few examples had published until now. As an example, there is a single known Moldavian *berat* from the 17th century, which was sent to the *voivode* Alexandru Iliaș around 1620/21, when Gaspar Grațiani was removed.³⁴ Of those that have not been published, the *berat* of the Cossack hetman Dorošenko stands out, which is from around 1660.³⁵

Since the entire process is built upon a very rigid system, it is possible to identify those documents and insignia about which information was not found, or which due to the preliminary nature of the confirmation – since the father was still alive – were not sent. The prince's letter of petition sent to the Sublime Porte for his son's

34 Feridûn Ahmed Beg, 2, 1275², 488–489, Antalffy, A. Münşeat al-salatin al lui Rukhsanzade Ahmed Feridun et-Tevki (pomenit şi supt numele Ahmed Feridun Bey Nişangi) ca izvor pentru istoria Românilor. *Buletinul comisiei istorice a României* 13(1934), 5–23; Papp, S. Keresztény vazallusok az Oszmán Birodalom észak-nyugati határainál (Diplomatikai vizsgálat a román vajdák szultáni 'ahdnâméi körül). *Aetas* 17(2002), 92–93.

35 BOA, İbnülemin, Hariciyye No. 52; Ostapchuk, V. Cossack Ukraine In and Out of Ottoman Orbit, 1648–1681. In: Kármán, G. – Kunčević, L. *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Leiden & Boston, 2013. Brill, 123–152.

appointment has not survived or has not yet been found. At the same time, the letter of the sultan issued to the estates is not known either, although I consider its existence to be certain, since there are continuous examples of them from the 16th century. It was also necessary for the grand vizier to write a document called a *mektub*. Despite the lack of these, we have made a large step forward, since there had been no materials available so far from Hungarian archives related to this appointment. From the *berat*, it is clear that only the decorative clothing, the sultan's banner and the scepter were sent of the prince's insignia, so the saber, the ornamental plume, the janissary officer's cap and the horse with its equipment were left out of the set. These should have been brought at the final confirmation, with the transfer of power, which – with the knowledge of Ferenc I Rákóczi's life story – never could have happened.

According to the Transylvanian Saxon historian Georg Kraus, a pasha by the name of Osman, the sultan's cup-bearer, was sent from the Sublime Porte to confirm the young prince.³⁶ Precise information was found in the correspondence of the Rákóczi family in terms of when and where the handover of the documents and insignia of appointment took place. The young Ferenc Rákóczi himself wrote to his grandmother, Zsuzsanna Lórántffy on the 14th of February 1653 that "I went before the Turkish envoy and there were shots, but I did not fear anything, and I entered with him from the bridge of Várfadja [Alsóvárada, Oarda in Romania]."³⁷ Although we do not have any more information about the ceremony besides the handover of the insignia of power, the cited correspondence indicates that it proceeded in a similar manner to what took place ten years earlier, in the case of György II Rákóczi.

³⁶ Kraus 1994, 201.

³⁷ Szilágyi 1875, 448.

Places Full of Secrets in 16th Century Istanbul: the Shops of the *ma'cūncis*

Benedek Péri

The Ottoman imperial literary paradigm as it came to be established in the second half of the 15th century was a derived literary system, one of the branches of the Persianate literary tradition. Ottoman litterateurs followed the examples of Persian authors whom they considered their direct predecessors. In their works they endeavoured to comply with the written and unwritten rules of a continuous literary tradition that started to develop sometime in the late 10th century, under the rule of the Samanids and the Ghaznavids. This Persian tradition reached a turning point at the turn of the 15th–16th centuries, at the time when the Ottoman system was still in the phase of development. A new literary trend emerged and slowly started dominating the literary scene. The new style often termed *maktab-i vuḳū* or *vuḳū' - gūyī* 'incidental style' had an especially great impact on gazel, a major branch of Persianate poetical production.

Gazel as a poetic form developed in the Persian tradition and it has very strict formal conventions.¹ The technical gazel consists of five to eleven couplets (*beyts*), has a special rhyme scheme (aa, ba, ca, etc.) and the rhyme is often followed by a refrain-like element, the *redīf*, that can be a suffix, a word or a whole phrase. An important feature of the technical gazel is that the closing couplet (*maḳta'*) contains the nom de plume of the author. Though during its history the technical gazel was applied for various aims and topics and there are didactical, panegyric, religious gazels as well, the most often occurring subject of this type of poems is love, more specifically unrequited love.

Traditionally, *āşıkāne* (amorous) gazels are snapshots taken of a love affair in which the poet plays the role of the lover. Lover (*āşık*) and beloved (*ma'şūk*) are separated both physically and emotionally. The poet lover yearns for meeting (*vaşl*) his beloved and complains about being separated (*hicr*). The beloved, who is traditionally depicted as an adolescent male, usually plays a passive role in the poem: he ignores the feelings of the lover, which torments the poet. Gazels describe the sufferings of the poet and praise the beauty of the beloved in exaggerating terms.

¹ For an overview of the development of gazel as a poetic form see de Buriijn, J. T. P., The Gazel in Medieval Persian Poetry. In: Yarshater, Ehsan, *Persian Lyric Poetry in the Classical Era, 800–1500: Gazels, Panegyrics and Quatrains*. London 2019, 315–487.

The imagery used to depict the lover's state of mind and the beloved's physical characteristics are conventional and fall far from reality.

This is especially true for the gazel poetry of the Timurid period that was "too often marred by an excessive use of rhetoric" which led to "artificialness, and conventionality, combined with an ever increasing deftness of craftsmanship and brilliance of artistry".² As the focus of gazel poetry shifted towards a mastery of rhetorical niceties, the connection of a poem to the tradition overshadowed its relationship to reality.

Though contemporary native literary critics stress that passion (*sūz u gudāz* lit. 'burning and melting') is an essential ingredient of a good lyric piece,³ composing a traditional style *āṣiḳāne* gazel can be a simple technical affair. A skilled and talented poet doesn't necessarily have to be in love at all because he has everything he needs in the poetic toolbox provided by the tradition of classical poetry: metrical rules, rhetoric conventions and a rich set of images to choose from. It is possible to write a good poem in the technical sense simply by combining these elements in a creative way.

This seemingly rock solid system of Persian gazel poetry was profoundly changed by the advent of the *maktab-i vuḳū'*, the incidentalist style. While the traditional system was living one of its important phases hallmarked by the poetic activity of the last great classical poet, 'Abd al-Raḥman Jāmī (Turk. Cāmī; d. 1492), the first signs of the oncoming changes in literary taste already appeared in the late 15th century. Contemporary literary critics consider Bābā Fiḡānī (d. 1519)⁴ the trendsetter of this poetic style that "made a conscious move in the direction of a kind of innovation (or at least change) and of becoming to a certain extent simple".⁵

Amorous gazels written in the incidentalist style close the gap between the poetic world and reality. The beloved is often a real human being and the "love affair" between the poet lover and his beloved is based on reality. Love affairs are depicted in a realistic way, in simple everyday language using only a limited number of rhetoric devices.⁶ Shafī'ī Kadkānī summarized the "manifesto" of the poets of the

2 Gibb, Elias John Wilkinson, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. 2 London 1902., 11, 13. For a detailed description of Timurid gazel poetry see Subtelny, Maria Eva, A Taste for the Intricate: The Persian Poetry of the Late Timurid Period. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 136, no 1 (1986), 56–79.

3 For the term *sūz u gudāz* in Ottoman Poetry see Ambros, Edith Gülçin, Emotivity as a Stylistic Marker in Ottoman Lyric Poetry of the 15th and 16th Centuries. In: Christiane Czygan and Stephan Connermann (eds.) *An Iridescent Device: Premodern Ottoman Poetry*. Göttingen 2018, 33–48.

4 On Fighani and his poetry see Losensky, Paul, *Welcoming Fighānī. Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Gazel*. Costa Mesa 1998.

5 Kadkanī, Shafī'ī, Persian Literature (Belles Lettres) from the Time of Jāmī to the Present Day. In: Morrison, G (ed.) *History of Persian Literature from the Beginning of the Islamic Period to the Present Day*. Leiden 1981, 146.

6 Şamīsā, Sīrūs. *Sayr-i ḡazal dar şī'r-i Fārsī*. Tehrān 1370/1991, 160; Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī*, 82.

maktab-i vuḳū in the following way: “We must once more draw poetry close to the experiences of daily life and turn our faces away from ‘universal love’, ‘universal beloved’ and everything that is absolute”.⁷

Ottoman gazel poetry in the early 16th century remained seemingly untouched by the new trend in Iran. The works of Persian poets from the classical period continued to serve as “official” reference points for literary critics and authors alike. Compilers of literary anthologies (*tezki*res), the main forum for literary criticism in this period, hold up the poetry of Persian classics as examples that should be followed. And as their poems show, Ottoman poets are in a continuous competition with Amīr Ḥusrau (d. 1325), Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1394), Kamāl-i Ḥujandī (d. 1400) and Jāmī, whom they look upon as their predecessors, as far as poetic excellence is concerned.⁸

A few entries and scattered remarks in *tezki*res, however, suggest that Ottoman poets were well aware of the changes in the literary taste in Iran and the *maktab-i vuḳū* started making its influence felt on the Ottoman literary scene.

As it has been mentioned earlier, one of the features of the *maktab-i vuḳū* texts was the use of simple, everyday language. It is possible that the use of proverbs and sayings in Ottoman gazels, a practice that started in mainstream Ottoman gazel poetry around the turn of the 15th–16th century, can be attributed to the influence of the incidentalist style.⁹

It must not be forgotten that the cultural relations between the Ottoman Empire and Iran, in spite of the political conflicts were never disrupted. Moreover, many Iranians, poets among them, migrated to Ottoman lands. Some of these poets like Ḥāmidī Iṣfahānī (fl. 15th c.) are considered precursors of the *maktab-i vuḳū*.¹⁰ It is also possible that the inspiration for a style of gazel called the *Türkī-i basīt* movement in Turkish literary history, a short lived literary project trying to use simple Turkish language with many Turkish words instead of Persian and Arabic lexical items, was also inspired by the simple language of *vuḳū*-*gūyī*.¹¹

Contemporary sources contain samples of Ottoman poems that appear to show the characteristics of the incidentalist style. Most of these were inspired by everyday incidents, like going to a barber or to a public bath and they are often praising

7 Kadkanī, *Persian Literature*, 147.

8 For a detailed description how Ottoman poets in the 16th century viewed Persian gazel poetry see Péri Benedek, ‘O Muhibbī! You’ve Lit Your Lamp with Khosrow’s Burning Passion’. *Persian Poetry as Perceived by Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Authors*. In Melville, Charles *The Safavids, The Idea of Iran* 10. (forthcoming).

9 On the use of proverbs and saying in classical Ottoman poetry see Kaya, Bayram Ali, Atasözleri ve Deyimlerin Dîvân Şiirinde Kullanımı ile Dîvânların Bu Söz Valıklarımızın Önemi. *Divan Edebiyatı araştırmaları Dergisi* 6(2011), 11–54.

10 On Ḥāmidī see Ra’īsī, Ihsān Ḥāmidī Iṣfahānī, az shā’irān-i pīshgām-i maktab-i vuḳū’ dar sadda-yi nuhum. *Pazhūhash-i zabān va adabiyāt-i Fārsī* no. 45/Tābistān 1396/2017, 91–115.

11 For a recent summary of the movement see Aynur, Hatice, Rethinking the Türkī-i Basīt movement in Turkish Literature. *Archivum Ottomanicum* 25(2008), 79–97.

people from all walks of life as the poet's beloved. These poems are written in a simple language; they are straightforward, lack artificiality (*takalluf*) and elaborate rhetorical devices.

One of the well-known representatives of this style of poetry was Nihālī (d. 1542). His amorous poems addressed to various craftsmen, a tailor, a cook, a person making silver thread, a *börek*-maker or an unnamed youth going to the bath and another one he saw somewhere close to the Aya Sofya were preserved in Āşık Çelebi's *tezkiye* and in various poetry collections (*mecmū*'as).¹²

Divans of poets, literary anthologies and poetry collections contain quite a few poems addressed to simple people, among them craftsmen beloveds, indicating that this style of gazel was quite popular in urban centres of the empire. A distinct group of poems within this category of gazels are addressed to a very special type of beloveds, the *ma'cūnci*, professionals preparing and selling *ma'cūn*, 'paste'.

Ma'cūn in the 16th century Ottoman context was a generic term describing a class of electuaries sold in the form of paste, including medicine and various types of opium and cannabis-based drugs. An undated, manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque Universitaire des Langues et Civilisations in Paris contains the description of a large number of pastes, together with their ingredients and instructions how to prepare them. The text (Ms. no. 131) titled *Kitāb-i ma'ācīn*, The Book of Electuaries, describes a wide range of products a *ma'cūnci* could produce, extending from an electuary called *cāvidān* ('eternity') facilitating longevity, to corroborants, medicines, syrups, soaps and various drugs, like *berş* and *funūniya*.¹³

Products that captured the imagination of poets and inspired them to compose gazels to *ma'cūncis* seem to have belonged to the last group. Zātī (d. 1546) one of the most prolific gazel composers of his age, who dedicated quite a few poems to everyday and craftsmen beloveds,¹⁴ has three gazels describing the wonders a *ma'cūnci*'s shop could offer.¹⁵

Sooyong Kim in his monograph on Zātī translated two of these poems and interpreted them as gazels addressed to "a maker of the *mesir* paste, a medicinal electuary that was used for an assortment of ailments and popularized early in

12 Āşık Çelebi, *Meşā'irü'ş-şu'arā*. Ed. Filiz Kılıç. Ankara 2018, 392–396; Pervâne b. Abdullah, *Pervâne Bey Mecmuası*. Ed. Kamil Ali Gıynaş. Ankara 2017, 241, 1435–1436.

13 On *berş* see Péri Benedek, Gyógyszerből "hangulatjavító": egy partidrog karrierje az Oszmán Birodalomban (From medicine to mood enhancer: the carrier of a party drug in the Ottoman Empire). *Szabolcs-Szatmár-Beregi Szemle* 54, no. 2(2019), 45–56; Péri Benedek, A Janissary's Son Turned Druggist and His Highly Successful Designer Drug in 16th–17th Century Istanbul," In: *Osmanlı İstanbulu IV*. Ed. Feridun M. Emecen and Ali Akyıldız and Emrah Safa Gürkan. İstanbul 2016, 643–654.

14 Kim, Sooyong, *The Last of An Age. The Making and Unmaking of a Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Poet*. London and New York 2018, 62.

15 Tarlan, Ali Nihad (ed.) *Zatî Divanı* (Edisyon Kritik ve Transkripsiyon). Gazeller Kısmı II. İstanbul 1970, 506–507; Çavuşoğlu, Mehmed and Tanyeri, M. Ali (eds.) *Zatî Divanı* (Edisyon Kritik ve Transkripsiyon). Gazeller Kısmı III. İstanbul 1987, 316–317.

Süleyman's reign".¹⁶ This interpretation shows that the author was not aware of the contemporary realities that inspired the poet. It misses the main point and fails to recognize the poetic riddles and rhetorical niceties that make Zāfī's poem a showcase of how traditional elements can be updated and adapted to poetical contexts reflecting everyday experiences.

The Ottoman poetical tradition introduced a few innovations to the classical Persianate literary tradition in the early 16th century, some of which reflected Ottoman realities. One of these special Ottoman features was the semantic field of cannabis.¹⁷ As it has been referred to earlier an essential branch of the *ma'cūncı*'s range of products was drugs, some of which was produced using cannabis. Looking at Zāfī's gazel from this perspective enables the reader to see the text in a new light and discover all the hidden poetic niceties.

Bir güzel ma'cūncınuñ dīdārınuñ hayrānıyam
Hokka-i la'l-i lebi esrārınuñ hayrānıyam

I am *intoxicated* by the sight of a beautiful paste-maker,
 I am *intoxicated* by the secrets of the pillbox of his ruby lips.

The meaning of the lemma *hayrān* is usually given in dictionaries as 'dombfounded' and in this meaning it is an integral part of the signifying universe of classical gazel poetry. In *āşıkāne* gazels it denotes the state of mind the poet lover gets into when he sees the beloved's beauty. However, the adjective is also a well-known term in the 16th–17th century vocabulary of drug subculture, and thus an integral part of the semantic field of cannabis or more widely drug use, referring to the altered state of consciousness drugs induce.

Zāfī very consciously placed the word play (*ihām*) based on the double meaning of the word in a key position and used it as the *redif* of the poem. This way he defined the topic, set the tone of his gazel and provided the reader with clear-cut guidance how to interpret the poem.

Hokka, the first word in the second hemistich, is an often recurring word in lyric poetry. It is used in similes and metaphors as an object to which the beloved's mouth is compared (*hokka dehen*). Beautiful beloveds have tiny mouth in classical poetry resembling small objects like the circle of the letter *mīm* (م) or a little round box. Originally, and in the context of the present poem, the noun *hokka* refers to a small portable container used for storing pills.

Esrār in the same line has a double meaning. In its first meaning it is the Arabic plural of *sirr* 'secret' and at the same time it is the Ottoman and modern Turkish term denoting cannabis. The word *leb* 'lip' is a general word quite frequently met with in lyric poetry. Its form suffixed with third person genitive marker coupled with

¹⁶ Kim, *The Last of an Age*, 62.

¹⁷ For a detailed description of the topic see Péri Benedek Canabis (Esrār): A Unique Semantic Field in Classical Ottoman Lyric Poetry. *Turcica* 48(2017), 9–36.

the next word in the line *esrār*, however, can be understood as a direct allusion to a widespread drug of the 16th–17th century. *Leb-i dilber* or *dilber lebi*¹⁸ was the name of a cannabis-based electuary with a long lasting popularity. Laṭīfī (d. 1582) a literary critic from the 16th century mentions it as one of the many drugs sold in Istanbul,¹⁹ and it was the only drug Evliyā Çelebi (d. after 1685) admitted to have occasionally consumed.²⁰

The inclusion of the noun *hokka*, so characteristic of a paste-maker's profession, in the line was of utmost importance for Zāfī. In order to be able to do this he decided to slightly modify the conventional image of the “pillbox like tiny mouth” by replacing the traditionally used word *dehen*, *dehān* ‘mouth’ in the noun phrase with *leb* ‘lip’. This way he partially ruined the simile, because it lost its most essential part, the basis for comparison, but the rhetoric force provided by the semantic bonding of the words *hokka*, *lebi*, *esrār* was worth the sacrifice.

The double meanings of the keywords in the opening couplet (*maṭla*) prepare the reader for an intellectual adventure and show the direction where to look for the solutions of the poetic riddles Zāfī hid in the poem. The second couplet (*beyt*) is worded in the same vein.

Büstānda bunı der reyhān perīşān kalb olur
Ben gubār-ı haṭṭ-ı ‘anber-bārınun hayrānıyam

The sweet basil becomes distressed in the garden and says,
I am intoxicated by the dust of the amber-laden peach-fuzz of the beloved.

The *beyt* focuses on praising the peach-fuzz of the beloved, often compared to sweet-basil in love poetry. The two hemistichs (*mişrā*) could easily fit into any classical *āşıkāne* gazel. The second hemistich, however, contains a word play based on the double meaning of the word *gubār*. Its original meaning is ‘powder, dust’, and as such it is often part of metaphors and similes describing the facial hair of juvenile boys. The second meaning, as it is expected, is connected to drug use and refers to ‘cannabis powder’ often used in the religious practices of antinomian dervish communities.²¹ *Esrār* with its double meaning returns in the first hemistich of the fourth couplet.

18 Though the form *leb-i dilber* is more commonly used, Muştafā ‘Ālī refers to this drug as *dilber lebi*. Şeker, Mehmet (ed.) *Gelibolulu Mustafa ‘Ālī ve Mevâ’idü’n-Nefâis fî Kavâ’idi’l-Mecâlis*. Ankara 1997, 300.

19 Lâtiṭī, *Evsâf-i İstanbul*. Ed. Nermin Suner (Pekin). İstanbul 1997, 52.

20 Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zillî, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi; I. Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu-Dizini*. Ed. Robert Dankoff and Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı. İstanbul 2006, 335. For more data on *leb-i dilber* see Péri, Cannabis (*Esrār*), 22–24.

21 On the word *gubār* and its uses in classical poetry see Péri, “Cannabis (*Esrār*)”, 20. For its connection to antinomian spiritual communities see Péri Benedek, “It is the Weed of Lovers. The Use of Cannabis Among Turkic Peoples up to the 15th Century” *Acta Orinetalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung.* 62, no. 2 (2016), 150–152.

*Her dem ol şîrîn dehen esrârdan virmez haber
Cân ü dilden ben anuñ güftârinuñ hayrâniyam*

That sweet mouth never says anything about secrets,
My heart and soul is intoxicated by the way he speaks.

The first hemistich can be translated as Kim did²² but the contrast between the two *mişrâ* 's indicates that it can also be interpreted as a reference to the *ma'cūncı* 's trade and his accounts of his business: "That sweet mouth doesn't always [need to] speak about cannabis/I am fully intoxicated by the way he speaks".

It is impossible to say whether the addressee of Zāfī's second love poem dedicated to a *ma'cūncı* was the same person as the previous paste-maker. This poem contains less direct allusions to the *ma'cūncı* beloved's profession and except for the *redîf hayrâniyam* 'I am intoxicated by...' nothing would suggest that the beloved in the poem traded with drugs.²³

Though the paste-maker beloved of the third and the second poem seems to be the same, a person called Sikender Şāh, the third gazel contains more allusions to the beloved's profession.

*Etdi bir ma'cūncı garrā dil-rübā hayrān beni
Eyledi yine gubār ile hevā yeksān beni*

A paste-maker, a sparkling beauty robbed my heart and made me intoxicated,
Desire made me [feel] like dust.

Gubār and *hayrān* are used in the couplet in word plays (*tevrîye*) based on their double meanings. Together with the noun *ma'cūncı* they form a basic rhetoric figure called *tenasüb*, 'congruency' that is based on the semantic bonding of words belonging to the same semantic field. Though the *beyt* is seemingly a simple couplet from a traditional love poem, with the semantic field of drug use lingering vaguely in the background, its poetic force is greatly enhanced. The second couplet also contains obvious allusions to some qualities of the *ma'cūncı* 's products.

*Keşfeder yokdur vilāyetde lebi esrārını
Eyledi hayrānı bir ma'cūncınuñ devrān beni*

There is no one in this land who could discover the secrets of his lips,
The intoxication caused by a paste-maker made me dizzy. / Fate made me fall for a paste-maker.

Besides the surface meaning of the couplet, the first *mişrâ* ' also suggests that the taste of cannabis couldn't be felt in the paste-maker's products and a possible interpretation of the second hemistich alludes to a side effect of cannabis intoxication: dizziness.

²² That sweet-mouth never reveals any secret news.

²³ For an English translation of the poem see Kim, *The Last of an Age*, 63.

The third couplet is also worded in a plain language and seems to advertise the high-quality merchandise the paste-maker sells.

*Turfā ma 'cūn görmek isterlerse tās-i 'ışkda
İsteyü gelsün anuñ dükkānına yārān beni*

If you want to see a special paste in the goblet of love,
My friends, you should wish to come to his shop.

The fourth *beyt* is a reference to another side effect of cannabis: the drug often gets consumers into a giggling mood. It was such a well-known and common experience of drug users in the 16th century that the notion of 'laughing' became part of the semantic field of cannabis.²⁴

*Gördi kim berg-i hazān gibi döker yaşın gözüüm
Etdi faşl-i gül gibi ma 'cūn ile handān beni*

He saw that tears were dripping from my eyes like autumn leaves,
With his paste he made me laugh like spring.

Besides expressing Zātī's dedication to the paste-maker and his addiction to the *ma 'cūncı*'s products, the *maḳta'* describes another effect of cannabis use. The drug can cause a state of bliss; all the stress and tension the consumer might have, disappears and he feels as if he was a ruler sitting on his throne.

*Zātiyā fark olmazam hergiz Sikender Şāhdan
Her gece ma 'cūnı eyler 'āleme sulṭān beni*

Zātī, I would never leave Sikender Şāh!
His paste makes me a king every night.

Drugs seem to have been very popular in the Ottoman Empire and the demand for the paste-makers' products was high. To serve the public, many such shops were opened in urban areas. According to Evliya Çelebi there were two hundred *ma 'cūncı* shops in 17th century Istanbul and five hundred people were engaged in this trade.²⁵ The relatively great number of such undertakings and the "wonderful" world of their products captured the imagination of other poets as well.

Both Mu 'īnī's (fl. 16th c.) and Sürūrī's (d. 1562) description of their paste-maker beloveds start with unexpected incidents.²⁶

Mu 'īnī goes for a pleasure walk in Istanbul and suddenly notices a freshly opened fancy new shop of a paste-maker; Sürūrī falls in love with a *ma 'cūncı* in the Tahtakale district of the city. Both gazels praise the beloved whose charming beauty intoxicates the poets. These poems are written in a simple language reflecting

²⁴ Péri, *Canabis (Esrār)*, 29.

²⁵ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 248.

²⁶ For the full text of the poems see the Appendix. For a full translation of Mu 'īnī's poem see Péri, *Canabis (Esrār)*, 24.

contemporary realities by mixing traditional imagery with elements freshly introduced by Ottoman authors to the signifying universe of Ottoman poetry. Rhetorically they are not too complex; the devices Mu‘inī and Sürūrī apply are simple similes, metaphors, and most importantly word plays based on words that have two or more meanings, one of which can be interpreted as an allusion to contemporary drug culture.

The second and third couplets of Mu‘inī’s gazel contain several of these words.

*Oturmuş anda bir hoşka-dehen yār ü müfferih-leb
Ki bir keyfiyyet ile hoşkaya koymuş niçe cānı
Anuñ hayrānlığından ben küleh etmezdüm ey zāhid
Götürsem başum üstinde gubār-i rāh-i cānānı*

A beloved was sitting there, his mouth was [tiny] like a pillbox, his lips were exhilarating,

The euphoria he induced had already bound several souls to his pillbox.

Ascetic! The intoxication he caused made me forget my dervish cap,

Even if I let the dust from the beloved’s street settle on my head.

The adjective *müfferih*, the first part of the compound *müfferih-leb* ‘exhilarating lips’ was the name of a popular drug in the Islamic world. *Keyfiyyet* ‘quality’ has a second meaning in contemporary Ottoman vocabulary denoting a merry state induced by the use of drugs.²⁷ Besides being the abstract noun formed from the adjective *hayrān*, a term that has already been mentioned as the par excellence term for describing a state of altered consciousness caused by drugs, *hayrānlık* was also used to mean cannabis in the 16th century.²⁸ The utterance in the second hemistich of the second couplet, *bir keyfiyyet ile hoşkaya koymuş niçe cānı*, lit. ‘he has put with this merry mood [caused by the drugs he sells] quite a few souls into the pillbox’ can be understood that many of the customers got addicted to the paste-maker’s products.

The third *beyt* is an updated version of a well-known poetic topos often occurring in classical Persianate gazel poetry, especially in *rindāne* ‘libertine style’ gazels. Rinds are inspired libertines, representing members of spiritual communities endeavouring to attain an ecstatic personal experience of God, instead of simply following orthodox religious practices and obeying religious law. In classical poetry they are depicted as drinkers of wine, a substance prohibited by Islam, who spend much time in taverns using wine as an entheogen that helps them in their spiritual

²⁷ For these terms see Péri, *Canabis (Esrar)*, 16–17; 20–22.

²⁸ For this meaning of the word see Péri Benedek, Beng, *esrar, maszlag: a cannabis és a cannabis tartalmú drogok az anatóliai törökségnél. Terminológiai áttekintés*” *Keletkutatás* 2012 tavasz, 60.

quest.²⁹ They are always shown in a positive light while orthodox characters (*zāhid* ‘ascetic’, *ṣūfī* ‘dervish’, *vā’iz* ‘preacher’, etc.) are shunned. Mu‘īnī adapted the traditional topos to the poetic context of his poem when he replaced wine with cannabis. The poet-lover turns his back to orthodox religious practices represented in the couplet by the character of the ascetic (*zāhid*) and the noun *kūlāh* denoting the headgear worn by Mevlevi’s dervishes, and chooses the ecstatic spirituality symbolized by love and the use of *gubār*, cannabis powder. Since cannabis was used as an entheogen by some antinomian communities, a scene described by several European travellers,³⁰ and Mevlevi’s were one of the traditional religious communities known for orthodox piety in the Ottoman empire, the poetic topos based on the dichotomy represented by *rinds* and orthodox devotees receives an Ottoman flavour in the poem.

The fourth and fifth couplets also contain direct allusions to the products the paste-maker beloved sells: *leb-i dilber*, *ma‘cūn* and *berş*, an opium based electuary enjoying great popularity in the 16th–17th centuries, all of them produced in the form of pills (*ḥabbe*).

Ger ol dil-ber lebi fikrin edersem ben gece gündüz
Olur bu hasteler gibi anuñ esrārı hayrānı
Mu ‘īnī açılır göñlün gözün bir ḥabbe gam kıalmaz
Yeyüp ma ‘cūn ü berşini temāşā eylesen anı

If I keep thinking of the lips of the beloved, day and night,
 I would be intoxicated by his secrets like these [love] stricken people.
 Mu‘īnī! It will open up the eyes of your soul and not a single grain of sorrow remains,
 When you consume his *ma‘cūn* and *berş* and keep looking at him.

Sürūrī’s approach to his topic is a bit different as he focuses more on the paste-maker’s products and their effects, than on the *ma‘cūncı* himself. His allusions to Ottoman drug culture are more direct and his poem is rhetorically a less complex mixture of traditional ideas and images of love poetry, and elements reflecting contemporary realities.

²⁹ For a detailed treatment of the topic see Lewisohn, Leonard, *The Religion of Love and the Puritans of Islam. Sufi sources of Ḥāfiz’s Anti-clericalism*. In: Lewisohn, Leonard (ed.) *Ḥāfiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*. London and New York 2010, 160–196.

³⁰ Dernschwam, Hans, *Erdély, Beztercebánya, Törökország útinapló*. Budapest 1984, 206; Menavino, Giovanni Antonio, *Trattato de costumi et vita de Turchi*. 1548, 78–79. Menavino’s description was borrowed by other authors as well. See Sanovino, Francesco, *Historia dell’origine et imperio de Turchi*. Venezia 1568, 31; Lonicar, Philipp, *Chronicorum Turcicorum. Tomus primus et secundus*. Frankfurt 1584, 110; Bandier, Michael, *Histoire generale de la religion des Turcs*. Paris 1625, 186.

After the first two couplets relating how he fell in love with a paste-maker in the Tahtakale district, Sürürî starts describing his experiences with drugs and explains his attraction to the beloved with his addiction to the mind altering substances the *ma'cūncı* produces. The feeling of bliss, a side effect of cannabis that was worded by Zāfî in the closing couplet of his third poem, is also mentioned by Sürürî in the second *mişrâ'* of his third *beyt*.

Beng ileydi iklîmün sulṭānı oldı göñlümüz

It was cannabis that made my heart the sultan of the land

Beng, the word Sürürî uses to denote the drug is the most common term applied to refer to cannabis in Persian sources.³¹ The phrase *kör bengî* in the next couplet is a term both for cannabis addicts and people in the state of cannabis intoxication, while *tiryākî* refers to consumers addicted to opium based drugs. The second hemistich seemingly describing the poet-lover's attachment to his beloved can also be interpreted as an account of his drug addiction and his withdrawal symptoms. This can be true for the sixth couplet and the closing *beyt* as well.

*Ṭay mı kör bengi vü geçgin şöyle tiryākî olam,
Çünki ol ma'cūncınuñ giryānı oldı göñlümüz.*

It's no wonder that I am intoxicated and bedazzled by cannabis, and that I am an opium addict,
Our heart cries out for that paste-maker.

*Ağzuñ esrārı biter dilde şehā hayrānlara,
Var ise esrāruñ büstānı oldı göñlümüz.*

O Shah! The secrets of your mouth sprout in the heart of those who are intoxicated,
If there is a garden for your secrets/cannabis, it is in our heart.

*Dilde yākūt-ı müfferihdür Sürürî çün lebi
Cevherî ma'cūnlaruñ dükkānı oldı göñlümüz*

In Sürürî's heart his lips are like the rubies used in the *müfferih*,³²
Our heart became a shop for your pastes made of gems.

As cannabis use spread in the Persianate world it became a cheap alternative of wine. A reference to the rivalry of cannabis and wine, a topic elaborated on by several texts in various Turkic languages,³³ appears in the seventh couplet. The *beyt*

31 For examples taken from Persian sources see Péri, *Beng, eszrār, maszlag*, 51–52.

32 For the *müfferih* prepared with powdered gems see Péri, *Canabis (Esrār)*, 21; Schimmel, Annemarie, *A Two Coloured Brocade: Imagery of Persian Poetry*. Chapel Hill 1992, 158–159.

33 On Turkic texts on the topic see Péri Benedek, Muḥammed Fuzūlî's "The Debate of Weed and Wine" (*Beng ü Bāde*) Revisited. Towards a New Interpretation. *Diyār*. (forthcoming).

also reflects Ottoman realities: while wine-shops and taverns were closed whenever authorities decided to enforce Islamic laws on wine and wine drinking, various drugs were freely sold and used in the Ottoman Empire.

*Açalı ma 'cūn dükkânın kapandı meygede
Mey yerine şimdi ma 'cūn kânı oldu gönlümüz*

Since he opened his paste shop the tavern has closed,
And our heart became a mine of *ma 'cūn* instead of wine.

Ottoman *āşıkāne* gazels addressing and praising the *ma 'cūncı* show many features of the incidentalist style developed in Iran at the turn of the 15th–16th centuries. They are devoted to living human beings, beloveds who exist and the feelings they depict are real. Their connection to contemporary realities is obvious. The paste-maker's shop, his range of products, the effect of the drugs he sells are all parts of Ottoman everyday life in the 16th century. Stylistically, these gazels are written in a simple language; they lack the rhetorical complexity and artificiality love gazels following traditional patterns endeavour to attain and they rely heavily on the vocabulary of contemporary drug culture.

Though research on the possible influence of the *maktab-i vuḳū'* on 16th century Ottoman gazel poetry has just begun, the results it has hitherto yielded suggest that the incidentalist style influenced the Ottoman literary scene. Ottoman authors were aware of the new poetic trends in Persian poetry and the literary connections between the Ottoman Empire and Iran were not disrupted by the advent of the Safavids and the series of Ottoman–Safavid conflicts.

Appendix

Ottoman gazels addressed to the paste-maker

Zātī

*Bir güzel ma 'cūncınuñ dīdārınuñ hayrānıyam
Hokka-i la 'l-i lebi esrārınuñ hayrānıyam
Būstānda bunı der reyhān perīşān kalb olur
Ben ğubār-ı haṭṭ-ı 'anber-bārınuñ hayrānıyam
Nola meyl etsem aña şīrīne hayrān viriür
Ol nigārıñ la 'l-i şīrīn-kārıñ hayrānıyam
Her dem ol şīrīn dehen esrārdan vermez haber
Cān u dilden ben anıñ ğüftārınuñ hayrānıyam
Serv uyuklarken bunı söyler zebān-ı hāl ile
Ben o şūhıñ serv-i hoş-reftārınuñ hayrānıyam
Nergisi gördüm uyuklarken bunı dir dāyımā*

*Ol gülün ben gamze-i sehḥārınun ḥayrānıyam
Karşusunda dem-be-dem kan ağlayan 'āşıklaruñ
Oldı Zātī çeşm-i deryā-bārınun ḥayrānıyam*

*Bir güzel ma 'cūncınun pehlūsınun ḥayrānıyam
Ağzum akar suyu şeftālūsınun ḥayrānıyam
Mülk-i 'ālem içre korkum yok Sikender Şāhdan
Büsbütün dünyā deger kapusınun ḥayrānıyam
Turfā ma 'cūnam be-gāyet tās-ı 'ālem içre ben
Hoḳḳa-i la 'l-i lebinün būsınun ḥayrānıyam
Serve dedüm kim uyuklarsın nedür ḥālün senün
Dedi anun ḳāmet-i dil-cūsınun ḥayrānıyam
Nergisün gözi süzülmiş yok mecālı kıpmağa
Der o şühun gamze-i cādūsınun ḥayrānıyam
Māh-i nev ağzın açub kalmış nedür ḥālün dedüm
Dedi ol māhun hilāl ebrūsınun ḥayrānıyam
Gördi kim 'ummāna beñzer ḥaddı vü pāyānı yok
Oldı Zātī yaşınun lülūsınun ḥayrānıyam*

*Etdi bir ma 'cūncı garrā dil-rübā ḥayrān beni
Eyledi yine gubār ile hevā yeksān beni
Keşf eder yoḳdur vilāyetde lebi esrārını
Eyledi ḥayrānı bir ma 'cūncınun devrān beni
Turfā ma 'cūn görmek isterlerse tās-i 'ışḳda
İsteyü gelsün anun dükkānına yārān beni
Gördi kim berg-i ḥazān gibi döker yaşın gözüm
Etdi faşl-i gül gibi ma 'cūn ile ḥandān beni
Zātiyā fark olmazam hergiz Sikender Şāhdan
Her gece ma 'cūnı eyler 'āleme sulṭān beni*

Mu 'inī

*Gözüm tuş oldu eylerken Sitanbul içre seyrānı
Açılmış zīnet ile bir güzel ma 'cūncı dükkānı
Oturmuş anda bir hoḳḳa-dehen yār ü müfferriḥ-leb
Ki bir keyfiyyet ile hoḳḳaya koymış niçe cānı
Anun ḥayrānlığından ben küleh etmezdüm ey zāhid
Götürsem başum üstinde gubār-i rāh-i cānānı
Ger ol dil-ber lebi fikrin edersem ben gice gündüz
Ohur bu ḥasteler gibi anun esrārı ḥayrānı
Mu 'inī açılır göñlün gözün bir ḥabbe gam kalmaz
Yeyüp ma 'cūn ü berşini temāşā eylesen anı*

Sürürî

Bir güzel ma 'cüncünün hayrânı oldu gönlümüz
 Gâh hayrânı gehî sekrânı oldu gönlümüz
 Varmaz iken ehl-i 'arzum diyü Tahta'l-ka'le 'ye
 Görelî anda seni mihmânı oldu gönlümüz
 Hokka ağzından emüp etdi vişâli fikrini
 Beng ileydi iqlîmün sulţânı oldu gönlümüz
 Tañ mı kör bengi vü geçgin şöyle tiryâki olam
 Çünki ol ma 'cüncünün giryânı oldu gönlümüz
 Hokka ağzını göricek yemedin dutdı meger
 Karşusunda şüret-i bî-cânı oldu gönlümüz
 Ağzun esrârı biter dilde şehâ hayrânlara
 Var ise esrârın bûstânı oldu gönlümüz
 Açalı ma 'cün dükkânın kapandı meygede
 Mey yerine şimdi ma 'cün kânı oldu gönlümüz
 Ben yedüm gâlib seni dutdı gönül şaşduñ katı
 Tañ mı dersem illerün seyrânı oldu gönlümüz
 Dilde yâkût-ı müfferihdür Sürürî çün lebi
 Cevherî ma 'cünların dükkânı oldu gönlümüz

“Faķır olub perākende olmaĝa yüz tutmuşlar”
the Ottoman Struggle against the Displacement of Subjects
in the Early Modern Period*

Claudia Römer
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Süleymān the Magnificent’s *Kanunnâme* of Budin stipulates the following, including the threat of a severe punishment for those who do not comply to the order,

Ve vilayet re’âyâsının akçesüz yemlerin ve yemeklerin almayalar ve müfettet ve meccânen re’âyânın rızâları olmadın istihdâm etmeyeler deyü Kanunnâme-i hümayûnda mukayyed iken ve bu husûsda defe’âtle fermân-ı şedid ve emr-i te’kid vârid olmuş iken ümerâ ve zu’amâ ve sipâh tâifesi eslemeyüb ve men’ olunmayub bir cânibe sefer vâki’ oldukça yüklerin ve azıkların çekmek için hâsları ve tîmârları köylerinden dörder beşer hânedan birer koçu bârgirleriyle ve koçuyaşlarıyla çıkarub seferin evvelinden âhirine deĝin istihdâm eyleyüb ve hazarda oldukları ve olmadıkları zamanda dahi re’âyâyı cebr ile be-nevbet evlerinde ve bağlarında ve yapularında arabaları ve koçularıyla leyl ü nehâr hizmet ettirmekle re’âyânın ekseri perākende olmasına ifrâtla zulm ve te’addileri sebebdır.

...

ve bir ra’iyyet mürd olsa, akrabasından kimesnesi kalmasa, sahib-i zemin olanlar yetimdir deyü oĝlun kızın esir edüb ve emlâk ve davarın zabt edüb fîrûht ederler imiş. İmdi bu husûslar defter-i cedid südde-i sa’âdet penâhıma geldikde pâye-i serir-i âlem-masîrime arz olunub min ba’d fermân-i celîl’ül-kadr (!) şöyle sâdır oldu ki;

...

Şöyle ki, eslemeyüb emr-i hümayûnuma muhâlîf iş edenleri hâkim’ül vakt (!) olanlar arz eylemeyeler, anın gibilere olacak itâb ve siyâset neticesi kendülere âid olmak mukarrer bileler.

* A preliminary draft of the present article was read at ICOSEH 2017, Sofia 24–28 July 2017 under the title of “Re’aya perakende olmaĝa yüz tutmuşlar – the Ottoman State Vis à Vis the Displacement of its Subjects in the Early Modern Period”. Some forty years ago, Mária Ivanics may have been present during the first decipherment of several documents cited here, as she was an important member of the seminar called “Privatissimum”, the material of which was subsequently integrated into Schaendlinger 1983, Schaendlinger 1986, and parts of Procházka-Eisl – Römer 2007.

“The lofty law code says that nobody ought to take away the fodder and foodstuff from the subjects of the country without paying. Nor shall anyone out of spite make the subjects work without their consent. Nevertheless, and although this had been specified many times in strong and corroborated orders, the emirs and fief holders do not obey and are not stopped from confiscating one cart driver with horses each from about four to five villages of their fiefs in case of a military campaign in order to transport their goods and provisions. They also make them work for them from the beginning to the end of the campaign. Indiscriminately during peace or war, they make the subjects serve day and night with their carts near their houses, vineyards, and buildings. **Therefore, the reason for the dispersal of the majority of the subjects is the excessive oppression and aggression they suffer.**

...

When one of the subjects dies, the owners of the land declare his sons and daughters to be orphans and **take them prisoner**, seize their possessions and livestock and sell them. Now these facts were brought forth before the foundation of my throne, the refuge of the world, when the new register came to my felicitous threshold. (With validity) from now on, my order of high rank was issued as follows:

...

If the lawyers of the period do not report those who do not obey and act against my imperial order, they shall know for sure that the outcome of the reprimand and punishment deserved by such persons will be suffered by them.”¹

Depopulation as a consequence of unfavourable conditions (natural disasters, skirmishes along the so-called Austrian Military Border,² as well as forced labour imposed on the peasant population by their overlords) was not only a threat to agricultural production but also to taxation and thus to the income of the fisc.³ Soldiers being absent from their garrisons weakened the military force. Their absence was also liable to instigate their superiors to commit various kinds of frauds, e.g., by not adding a note about absent or deceased soldiers in the relevant *yoklama defteri*, a garrison agha would get their pay and keep it for himself.⁴ Therefore, it was in the interest of the central government strictly to forbid actions that were prone to favouring the subjects’ dispersion, as we have seen in the quotations from the *Budin Eyaleti Kanunnâmesi*.

1 Akgündüz 1992: 281–282. – Unless stated otherwise, we follow the transliteration system of *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. Exceptions are citations from published sources, where the transliterations are left as they are.

2 On the Austrian Military Border, see, e.g., Rothenberg 1960.

3 Due to changes in population figures, the central government had to renew their censuses (*tahrîr*) at regular intervals, as they served as a basis for taxation (Káldy-Nagy 1985: 15).

4 On frauds of this kind, see, e.g., Römer 1994, and more generally, Römer-Vatin 2016.

Therefore, the law code foresaw the protection of the sultan's subjects from unlawful actions of their own superiors. Forced labour was not to be tolerated. First and foremost, it was unlawful and against the *sharia* to enslave Muslims. Sometimes, however, famines caused such dire circumstances for surviving that this principle was disregarded. Thus, Tatars had sold their own children as slaves. Subsequently, in 1579, Mehmed Giray II asked Murad III to send an order to the kadis of Nicopolis, Silistre, and Vidin to free all these children.⁵

As non-Muslims within the Ottoman Empire have the status of *zimmīs* and must not be molested in any way as long as they do not do anything against the law, neither the Muslim nor the non-Muslim subjects of the sultan ought to be enslaved or misused for forced labour.

In spite of this theoretical framework, the infringements of the law were numerous, both in the 16th and in the 17th centuries within and beyond the Ottoman Empire. This atmosphere of constant threat and insecurity was one, albeit the most common, reason for people to give up their homes and migrate to other places. For the time being, we are not in a position to say anything about the later lives of those who had left and were not re-captured, an endeavour not feasible due to the lack of adequate sources.

In what follows, I will deal with the displacement of Ottoman subjects in various places throughout the Ottoman Empire, especially but not exclusively in 16th century Ottoman Hungary.⁶ The reasons for people fleeing their homes will be discussed as well as the rather helpless way the Ottoman central administration was trying to prevent regions from becoming depopulated, soil being left untilled, and posts becoming vacant by their holders' unlawful absence. This situation was detrimental to the Ottoman state, as no taxes could be gained from depopulated regions. In order to make up for the financial loss, a special tax for not tilling the land (*çift bozan resmî*) was introduced.⁷

The *Budin Eyaleti Kanunnâmesi* explicitly specifies that as long as the subjects do not leave the land untilled, they must not be molested in any way: *Madem ki, arzı ta'til etmeyüb kemâ yenbeğî zirâ'at ve hirâset ve ta'mîr edeler bî-kusur hukûkun edâ edeler, kimesne dahl ve ta'arruz eylemeye, fevt oluncaya değin tasarruf edeler* "As long as they do not leave the soil untilled, engage in agriculture, protect and make it prosperous, and as long as they pay their dues, nobody shall molest them, and they shall have the usufruct until they die."⁸

As Halil İnalçık has shown, even the endeavours of Mehmed the Conqueror to resettle people in the new capital of Istanbul after its depopulation in the aftermath of the conquest had had a limit. *Sürgün* of *re'aya* first of all was a catastrophe for

5 Ivanics 2007: 199.

6 For numerous examples from the *Mühimme Defterleri* of subjects leaving their country, from the Ottoman Empire to the Safavids, the Habsburgs, and vice versa, see Arslan – Özbay 2015.

7 Cf., e.g., Káldy-Nagy 1985: 22.

8 Akgündüz 1992: 269.

the regions the deported people came from, as they became depopulated in their turn. Moreover it was precisely the “basic rights of the *re’aya*” that would have been infringed.⁹

There are several terms of migration to other places, depending on the kind of sources and also the circumstances of people being absent from their villages or posts.

One term is *perākende olmak* “to become dispersed”, sometimes also *perākende ve perīṣān olmak*. This term is used in the Ottoman–Habsburg treaties of 1562 and 1565.¹⁰

There are many occurrences of whole villages who left due to the exaction of their local overlords in the *Mühimme Defterleri* from the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent. A large number of firmans of ÖNB cod. Mxt. 270 also deals with this problem. This manuscript is a *Mühimme Defteri* of the years 1563–4, badly damaged by water.¹¹

In May 1579, Süleymān sent an order to the *beglerbegi* of Buda, saying, “In your letter you told us that some *sancaqs* belonging to Buda were flourishing again, because many single farms had become villages, but on the other hand, the population of some other villages has become dispersed as a consequence of the unbelievers’ attacks. Therefore, a new census is necessary.”¹²

A feature of the Habsburg–Ottoman treaties was the so-called condominium, meaning that villages along the border (*serhadd*) were liable to taxation from both sides. The stipulations of the 1547 Ottoman–Habsburg peace treaty, which was renewed in 1562 and 1565, and several more times after the end of Süleymān’s reign, also foresaw how to deal with infringements of the peace and that the population along the border should pay their taxes to both empires.¹³ It is clear that any overburdening with tax loads quickly caused people to evade from their homes.¹⁴ People had to be brought back if they were found and punished: *ve iki cānibūn re’āyāsından biri kaçsa cümle emlākı beglik olduğundan gayrı gendüsi redd olunub veyāh’ud haqqından geline ki sāyirlere mūcib-i ‘ibret ola* “And if one of the subjects of both sides flees, all his property shall be confiscated. Moreover, he shall

⁹ İnalcık 1979: 32–33.

¹⁰ Schaendlinger 1983: documents no. 25 and 32. See also below.

¹¹ Cf., e.g., Römer 2004. For several years, the late Gilles Veinstein, Nicolas Vatin and myself have been involved in its decipherment with the help of multispectral images, see, e.g. Römer – Vatin – Veinstein 2011.

¹² Káldy-Nagy 1985: 15, translated by C.R.

¹³ Petritsch 1985: 74–75.

¹⁴ Cf., e.g., Schaendlinger 1983: document no. 25, line 30 and document no. 32, line 29, “*hālīyā virgülerinden on mertebe ziyāde alınmağla fakīr olub perākende olmaga yüz tutmuşlardır* ‘as now ten times their original taxes were taken they became poor and started to become dispersed’” – The transliteration here is changed from the system of Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft to the one of *İslam Ansiklopedisi*.

be brought back or he shall be punished in a way that it will be a warning for the others.”¹⁵

Sometimes dispersed subjects could be a threat for public order as we see from a report to the sultan of July 1565: *ve şimdiyedegin azık gönderilmediğiniñ sebeb bu idiki Vārāddan öteye perākende olan re'āyā cem' olup ve Ecedvārı dağı yolları bekleyüp geçen azığı alurlar imiş ol sebebdan göndermege ihtizār eyledük* “The reason that no provisions could be sent until now is that the subjects that were dispersed until Varad gathered and also the people from Ecedvar were lurking next to the roads and stole the provisions that were carried past them.”¹⁶

According to a firman of 1563 sent to the person who was responsible for the census, the migrants had been helped to flee by the local fortress commanders and fief holders. These are ordered to be punished. At the same time the people who fled are to be brought back and entered again into the new census, “in order to make the villages flourishing.”¹⁷

Secondly, there is the term *celā-yi vaṭan itmek* “to leave one’s home” with its variants of *terk-i diyār itmek*, *vilāyet terk itmek* “to leave the country”. These terms occur especially, but not exclusively, at the end of the 16th century and during the period of the so-called Celali revolts in Anatolia which started in this period and formed a major threat to the stability of the core part of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁸

Often large groups of people took refuge in the mountains and hid their moveable goods. The Anatolian population used the threat of emigrating (*celā-yi vaṭan/terk-i diyār*) as a means of pressure in order to prevent too bad forms of exaction. In a complaint against military commanders, the population of Erzurum addressed the central authorities thus, *bizi rencîde vü remîde ederler. Celâ-yi vatan etmemiz mukarrerdir veyahut küllî kabahat ve fesada sebeptir* “They oppress us. Therefore, we will definitely leave the country or it will surely be the reason for wrongdoing and disorder.”¹⁹ Note here that the direct speech must not be misunderstood as real direct speech, but as a set formula of chancery practice for expressing what people might have said in reality, if they had said anything at all.²⁰

For persons not being *mevcūd* during mustering in fortresses, several terms were used, e.g., *terk-i kal'e itmek* “to leave the fortress” or *gendü hevâsında olmak* “to follow one’s own ideas”. (Römer 1995: 70; it is not clear what the difference between these two forms of not being present and not doing one’s job is). Except that such a post usually is given to somebody else, we do not find any hint at what happened to the soldiers who were not *mevcūd*.

15 Cf., e.g., Schaendlinger 1983: document no. 32, line 23, and nearly identical sentence in the treaty of 1562, document no. 25, lines 25–26.

16 Procházka-Eisl – Römer 2007: document no. 91.

17 ÖNB cod. Mxt. 270: 97 r doc. no. 535.

18 İlgürel 1995: 238.

19 İlgürel 1995: 239.

20 On this subject, cf. Veinstein 1995.

There was also the possibility of frauds concerning the officials who carried out the census. It could happen that they registered fewer households (*hāne* – 5 persons per *hāne*) than there were, in order to keep the taxes for themselves. In the *defter*, they added a note that the families had left.²¹

Another reason for emigration were the frequent attacks from outside, i.e. in Hungary from the Habsburg side – it must be noted that skirmishes and unlawful deeds along the Habsburg – Ottoman border occurred from both sides, with a large number of persons being either killed or abducted and forced to work for the other side. Especially mowing the grass was a very popular way of forced labour. Moreover, and equally against the treaty, a ransom often was asked for the release of these *esir* (prisoners/slaves),²² e.g., *re'āyā ise beglerinüñ zulmından ve hizmetlendürmelerinden şöyleki gice ve gündüz bağlarından bahçelerinden çıkarmazlar hemān perākende olmaları kalmışdur* “As far as the subjects are concerned, if they never are allowed to leave the vineyards and gardens where they are forced to work day and night by their (i.e. the Habsburg) beys, they cannot do anything but disperse completely”. This statement was made in June 1565 by the *sancakbegi* of Esztergom in a letter to the Ottoman envoy to Vienna, Hidāyet Ağa.²³ Hidāyet Ağa is asked to make this point clear vis-à-vis Maximilian II.²⁴

How frequent ransom slavery was at the Ottoman–Hungarian border in the 16th and 17th centuries has been shown by the collective volume Géza Pálffy (2007).

One reaction of the Ottoman state was to send numerous complaints via the *beglerbegis* of Buda to the Habsburg side. One example will suffice here. In February 1565, Grand vizier 'Alī Paşa wrote to Maximilian II, *şulh u şalāhdan murād tarafeynüñ re'āyā vu berāyāsı ve tüccār u müsāfirin ve sāyir āyende vu revende zarar u gezend irişmekden maşūn olub emn u amān ve refāhiyet u iṭmīnān üzre huzūr-i hāl u refāh-i bāl ile kār u kesblerinde āsūde olmaḳdur eṣnā'-i şulhdan ne hāşil olur* “The object of the peace and armistice is that the subjects of both sides, the merchants and wayfarers and all those who come and go be safe from loss and damage and that they happily do their work and earn money in peace and security, well-being and under protection. If during the peace such circumstances are abundant and law and order are disrupted on both sides, what use is then such a kind of peace?!”²⁵

For evil doings of Ottoman officials against the treaty, which might make the subjects leave the country, we see numerous warnings directed to the *beglerbegis*, *sancakbegis*, *kadis* and others. Basically, the same ideas as in the *Budin Eyaleti*

21 ÖNB cod. Mxt. 270: 97 r doc. no. 535.

22 On the status of prisoners of war, see the thorough discussion in Özkoray (2017: 117–123).

23 Procházka-Eisl – Römer 2007: doc. no. 83.

24 See also Römer – Vatin 2019: 350–351 and note 43, which refers to Petritsch 1991: nos. 483, 485, 488, and 489.

25 Procházka-Eisl – Römer 2007: doc. no. 66.

Kanunnâmesi cited at the beginning are expressed, with drastic punishments announced in case the orders are not obeyed. Thus, an order to the *beglerbegi* of Buda of 1563 says, *ümera ve hükkamun ihmal u tekasüli ve teaddi vü tecavüzleri sebeb-i nefret-i kulub-i reaya olmağla vilayet-i mezkure şenleyüb mamur olmayub* “The negligence and abuse of the emirs and judges is the reason for fear in the subjects’ hearts. Therefore, the aforementioned country is not fortunate and prosperous.”²⁶

According to the Mirror for Princes literature,²⁷ one important aspect of rulership is justice and as a consequence, allowing the country and the subjects to prosper. This theme is reiterated in many of the *beglerbegis*’ letters to the Habsburg rulers, e.g., *pādişāh ḥāzretleriniñ eyyām-i se’ādetlerinde memleket ma’mūr olmağda olub re’āyā refāhīyet üzredür* “In the fortunate day of His Majesty the Padishah the land is flourishing and the subjects are happy.”²⁸

Contrary to this principle, the Tatars, being of course unable to ask for ransoms within the Ottoman Empire, at the end of the 17th century granted expensively paid safe conducts to entire cities within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, thereby ironically protecting the sultan’s subjects from becoming their prisoners.²⁹

During the Fifteen Years’ War, in 1602, the Tatars tried to abduct from Transylvania some 3000 captives originally taken by Giorgio Basta’s haiducks. But the Prince of Transylvania Zsigmond Báthory succeeded in freeing them, arguing in his negotiations with the Pasha of Temesvár and the Grand vizier that the Transylvanian captives were subjects of the sultan.³⁰

Besides deliberate actions of wrongdoers, an important reason for migration can also be natural disasters, one reason that is beyond the just ruler’s control.³¹

In March 1560, the *kadı* of Akkerman on the northern Black Sea coast sent a report to the sultan. A number of Tatars had crossed the Dnjester and entered the Ottoman *sancağ* of Silistre on the Danube. The reason was a drought in the region of the Nogay Tatars, as a consequence of which they fled to the Ottoman Empire where they sought shelter from the famine and hoped to survive. The sultan wanted to get rid of them and therefore ordered the *emīn* who was guarding the river not to allow them in.³² The sultan subsequently was informed of the fact that these Tatar immigrants had walked all the way accompanied by their families, and that they were poor and carried no arms.³³ Then, Nogay Tatars fled to the Crimean Peninsula, but as there also was a famine, the Nogays moved on hunting in the region of Kili, Akkerman and Bender, also crossing into Moldavia. The reaction of the central

26 ÖNB, cod. Mxt. 270, fol. 142v, document no. 659, Römer – Vatin 2019: 353.

27 On Mirror for Princes literature, see Fodor 1986.

28 Procházka-Eisl – Römer 2007: doc. no. 11.

29 Ivanics 2007: 202.

30 Ivanics 2007: 203.

31 On the instance cited below, see Veinstein 2010.

32 *Mühimme Defteri* no. 3: docs. no. 832, 864.

33 *Mühimme Defteri* no. 3, no. 894, Veinstein 2010: 92.

government was an order to prevent them from staying all in one place and to distribute them all over the region.³⁴

However, in this special instance, we witness a 180 degrees' turn in the sultan's attitude when it becomes known that these migrants who are Muslims are enslaved and sold by crooks. In this moment, the sultan's function as just ruler who observes the sharia and has it observed in his protected realms is more important than the dislike for migrants.³⁵

As a conclusion, one might discuss how effective the stipulations of the *kanunnâmes* and single sultan's orders as well as letters of his officials may have been. They of course give succinct regulations on how the subjects ought to be treated in order to prevent them from leaving their homes and becoming dispersed. However, numerous orders that were sent iteratively to various officials in the Empire and to Habsburg rulers contain constant warnings, threats, and the depiction of drastic measures in case of disobedience. This is in line with the picture that resulted from Gilles Veinstein's gleaning a large number of firmans from the *Mühimme Defterleri*. Thus, the sultan's constant endeavour to have his orders executed and thereby to prevent illegal acts is in itself a weakness of the ruler's authority. "The firman is the junction of the ideal with reality: it creates the decorum of power and at the same time reveals the opposite of this decorum by a corpus of codified expressions that invariably repeat the difficulty the master has to make himself being obeyed..."³⁶ Süleyman always has to repeat his orders against the "mauvais penchants" of his officials, in order to establish order and justice, precisely in the fortunate days of his auspicious reign, as we have seen above.³⁷

We can even go further when looking for the reason for all this bureaucratic endeavour in drastic speech and think of the Circle of Justice, an old Middle Eastern concept of rulership and the ruler's relationship with his subjects:

No power without troops,
no troops without money,
no money without prosperity,
no prosperity without justice and good administration. (Darling 2013: 1)

³⁴ *Mühimme Defteri* no. 3, nos. 863, 897, Veinstein 2010: 93. This case brings us back to our day, the authorities' attitude in European states towards migrants and refugees being practically the same.

³⁵ Veinstein 2010: 94, 99.

³⁶ Veinstein 1992: 141. Citation translated by C.R.

³⁷ Veinstein 1992: 135.

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A Birthday Present for the Khitan Empress

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The Khitan texts written in the Khitan Small Script (KSS) were recently published in the three volumes monograph by Chinggeltei, Wu Yingzhe and Jiruhe (2017 = CWJ).¹ The work is containing 39 major and 16 minor inscriptions. Yet unpublished remained five major and one minor inscriptions. Among the published minor inscriptions is one found on the bottom of a jade jar. The precious item was kept in the famous collection of Qianlong. It got in CWJ the sigla Yu 玉 and in the List in Latin letters² it figures as *YuS* where S stands for Small (that is the minor inscriptions in Khitan Small Script). The photo is available on p. 858 and the text in normalized KSS on pages 1603–1604³ of CWJ, where the Khitan words are glossed in Chinese by the authors. The photo of the inscription was published by Wittfogel and Feng (WF 245.a) and has been dealt with by Luo Fucheng, Chinggeltei, Ji Shi, Wang Hongli and Kane (2009,63), who summarized and quoted the earlier literature.⁴

In this paper I offer a detailed analyzis of the inscription.⁵

The text transformed into a linear horizontal way is the following⁶:

1) 欠 丙 公 相 当 天

2) 曲 茶 壶 只 茶

1 On the work see Apatóczy – Róna-Tas 2019.

2 See the List of the sigla of the inscriptions in Apatóczy – Róna-Tas 2019, 266–268.

3 The text there is reset with normalized Khitan fonts.

4 See the bibliography of the earlier literature in Kane 2009.

5 I offer my sincere thanks to the editors of CWJ, and specially to Professor Wu Yingzhe for the permission to reproduce the inscription and also for his remarks on an earlier draft. I also owe many thanks to several of my colleagues who wrote remarks during the session on academia.edu.

6 The text is written, as all inscriptions, in vertical lines (see Figure 1), I transformed them, following the usage and for technical reasons into horizontal, linear form. The words of the inscription are not in boxes as in the major inscriptions, all glyphs are written one beneath the other. I call this type of writing “highlighting”.

I. Remarks on the glyphs

FIRST LINE

1/1 𐰚(331)

The reading of this glyph is based on the Chinese reading of the Khitan expression 𐰚𐰢𐰏 (331.348.021) which is transcribed in the Liaoshi as *nou-wo-mo* 𐰚𐰢𐰏.⁷ **Newamua* (see Kane⁸ 74, Pulleyblank 1991:LMCh *nəw.ɣuat. mua*).

1/2 𐰢(021)

This glyph was earlier read as <mo> in accordance with its Chinese transcription, see above.⁹ CWJ changed the reading to evidently influenced by Mongolic *eme* ‘woman, female’.

1/3 𐰣(251)

The Romanisation of this glyph is <n> based on several Chinese transcriptions, as Chinese *ning* 寧 → Khitan <n.ing> 𐰣𐰏(251.303), Chinese *nei* 內 → Khitan <n.ui> 𐰣𐰢, (251.262), see Kane 65.

1/4 𐰤(238)

It is read by CWJ as <sui>. Earlier only its approximate meaning was known and treated as a logogram for BORN (Kane 63).

1/5 𐰥(361)

It is read by the earlier authors and CWJ as <én> where the diacritic has the only function to distinguish this glyph from other with the same reading, as the heteroglyphs <en> 𐰥(140) and <ēn> 𐰥(073), see also the alloglyphs <én₂> 𐰥(100), <én₃> 𐰥(100.10), <én₄> 𐰥(100.20). The suffix 𐰥(361) is here an adjectivizer and can be contrasted with 𐰥(140), which is, among others, the suffix of the genitive case. As already Kane (2009, 78) remarked, its back vocalic form is 𐰥(290) <án>. It figures also as marker of the ordinal numbers if they are front vocalic.

1/6 𐰦(159)

The glyph was earlier read as a logogram for DAY. Kane cited the Liaoshi: “In the national language, the first day of the new year *zheng dan* 正旦 is called *nai nie yi er* 乃捏咿兒, *nai* means ‘first’, 捏咿兒 *nie yi er* means ‘day~sun’. In the Liaoshi glossary *nai nie yi er* 乃捏咿兒, means “the first day of the first month” (Kane

⁷ LMCh, EMCh *new*, LMCh *ɣuat*, EMCh *ɣwat*, LMCh *mua*, EMCh *ma*.

⁸ I quote here Kane 2009, in many cases Kane is summarizing also the earlier research.

⁹ Shimunek 2017, 425 read <omo>.

53).¹⁰ CWJ Index retained the logogram <DAY>, but following Chinggeltei (2002, 112), suggests on pages 30 and 346 the reading <nær> with a ? mark.

SECOND LINE

2/1 𐰚(319)

The reading <go> of earlier authors is based on the Khitan transcription of the Chinese title *guanchashi* 觀察使 (**kuan cha:t šʅ*) as 𐰚𐰇𐰏𐰤 (319.251.375.180) <go.n ca šʅ> (Kane 73). but see below.

2/2, 2/5 𐰚 (341)

The glyph is read by all authorities as <er>, see Kane76, it has an alloglyph 𐰚(269) and is frequently mixed with . <oi> 𐰚 (347) and <oi₂> 𐰚 (107).

2/3 𐰚 (053)

The glyph was read as <qa> by all authorities, see Kane 41, Shimunek 2017, 427. Kane adds that it may have been a fricative, because it was used in the transcription of the Chinese name *Han Jia Nu* 韓家奴.

2/4 𐰚(372)

The glyph was read as <û> in my transcription as <û> by the former research, see Kane 79, based on the transcription of such Chinese syllables as Chinese *hu* 護 → Khitan <xu.û> 𐰚𐰚 (036.372) or Chinese *du* 度 → Khitan <t.û> 𐰚𐰚 (247.372). Shimunek 2017, 440 read <uw>. The glyph 𐰚(372) is sometimes mixed with 𐰚 (373) which is a logogram for GREAT.

II. The transcription or Romanisation¹¹ of the inscription

1. <neu em n sui én nār

2. go er qa u er>

The reading¹² of the inscription may have been:

new em-en sui-en nār

goer qa u-er

¹⁰ Shimunek 2017 read <ñayr?>

¹¹ Romanisation is the technical transcription of the KSS glyphs.

¹² The reading of the Khitan inscription was not necessarily the same as the spoken language. There may have been an elevated reading style. The latter is what, at present, we can reconstruct.

III. Translation:

1. Earth Mother's birthday
2. The Household Kan gave.¹³

IV Remarks on the words, the grammar and the pronunciation

The form <neu> is here the short form for <neu.e> 𐰚𐰆 and <neu.e₂> 𐰚𐰆. This is the only place in the Khitan corpus written in KSS, where this short form is used¹⁴.

The full form **neu-e** is written in the KSS in two ways: **neu-e** 𐰚𐰆 (331.348) which occurs 25 times and as **neu.e₂** 𐰚𐰆 (331.109) which occurs 12 times in the corpus. The glyphs 𐰚 (109) and 𐰆 (348) are alloglyphs, that is graphic variants and cannot in all cases be distinguished. The term occurs in the genitive case: once as 𐰚𐰆𐰠 **neu.e.en** (331.348.140), once as 𐰚𐰆𐰠 **neu.e₂.en** (331.109.140), once as 𐰚𐰆𐰠 **neu.e₂.n** (331.109.251) and once as **neu.ń** 𐰚𐰆 (331.222), it occurs twice in the dative case as 𐰚𐰆𐰡 **neu.e.de** (331.348.205).

The meaning of **newe** is 'earth', see Kane 94.

CWJ on p. 471 has the following expressions with <neu.e> 𐰚𐰆 (331.109):

<neu.e ETERNAL> 𐰚𐰆𐰠 *di jiu* 地久 'eternal Earth',

<neu.e 066.g.n> 𐰚𐰆𐰠𐰠 *di mu zhi* 地母之 'of Earth Mother', also (from the Liaoshi) *nuowomezhi* 𐰚𐰆𐰠𐰠 with *me* 𐰠 instead of *mo* 𐰠, which is modern re-transcription.

<neu.e as.ar> 𐰚𐰆𐰠𐰠 *di qing* 地清 'clean Earth'¹⁵,

<neu.e em> 𐰚𐰆𐰠 *huanghou* 皇后 'empress, queen',

<neu.e em.n> 𐰚𐰆𐰠𐰠 *huanghouzhi* 皇后之 'of the Empress'.

Before we go into the question of the actual meaning and the origin of the Khitan word, let us see what the Liaoshi (71.1a) has to say:

*„The Liao, following the Tujue [Turks], called the empress kedun [qatun]. In their national language they say *teiligien. The respectful term is nuo-wo-mo. It is said that houtu 后土 'the [Chinese] female earth deity' is the same as mu 'mother'.*¹⁶

13 The translation of Kane is practically the same 'on the birth day of the empress, the family kan gave her [this]' (Kane 63). CWJ has the following glosses: *tai hou zhi dan ri* 太后之 诞日 *jia han shou* 家汗授.

14 The Index of CWJ 2219 gives another place Xuan 2-2, but this is only because of the „highlighted” way of the inscriptions, the glyph <e> is written beneath the glyph <neu> and not beside it. The short form is here due to the confined place.

15 𐰚𐰆𐰠 (174.123) <as.ar> 'clear, peace, peaceful' (Kane 111, 159), 𐰚𐰆𐰠𐰠 (331.348 174.123) <neu.e as.ar> 'the earth is clear' (Huanyi, Kane 88, 111), <HEAVEN as.ar> is the Khitan equivalent of the reign title Chin Qingning 清寧 'Clear and Tranquil' (Kane 88, 111).

16 The text was referred to by Wittfogel—Feng, 1949, 431. I follow Kane 2009, 74.

This text stresses that the title *qatun* used by the Khitans follows the Turkic usage. Of course this does not mean that *qatun* is an original word in Turkic, only that the term was earlier used by the Turks. The second title is also of Turkic origin, though here the Liaoshi says that „in their national language [*guo yu yue* 國語曰, the language of the country (Liao)]”. The term, the reconstructed Chinese transcription of which is given by Kane as **teiligien* is Chin *telijian* 臧俚蹇 also 忒里蹇. Its Khitan pronunciation may have been **teriken*. The origin of the term is Old Turkic *terken*.¹⁷ The term occurs in the contemporaneous work of Kashgari (1072-1078/1266)¹⁸ where the definition is: ‘*tärkän* An address of the Khaqaniyya for one who has sovereignty over a realm or province...the word means „you who are obeyed”’. It was especially used in Uighur for queens as in: *silig terken qunčuy tengrim* ‘pure queen, consort princess’.¹⁹ Also in this case, though *terken* was a common Old Turkic title, we don’t know what was its origin.

The second glyph 𐰽 (021), read by CWJ as , is the Khitan word for ‘mother’, CWJ *mu* 母. It occurs in the published corpus 243 times. Its plural is <em.t> 𐰽令 (021.247), which occurs 99 times. Its genitive case is <em.en> 𐰽力 (021.140) and <em.n> 𐰽公 (021.251), the first occurs only twice, the second 46 times including our example.²⁰

The first three glyphs have then the meaning ‘Earth Mother-GENITIVE CASE, of the Earth Mother’.

It was perhaps Shiratori who mentioned that the Khitan word for ‘earth’ may be of Jurchen origin, later Menges²¹, suggested to Wittfogel and Feng that the word may be connected with Jurchen. They quoted the Jurchen word „*náh*” from the work of Grube (1896, 96). Menges in his monography (1968) tried to find a wider background including „*ba*” and reconstructing **nā-ba-ēmē* „Mutter von Erde und Land” (Menges 1968, 34). Herbert Franke in his paper on the language of the Liao (1969, 26–27) has dealt with the Chinese transcription *nuo-wo-mo*. He criticized the

17 Herbert Franke in his very important paper on the langue relations of the Liao Empire (1969), which is a critical review of Menges 1968) suggested that the word is identical with Turkic *tengriken*. Doerfer in his Scholia to Franke’s paper (1969, 47) proposed to connect the Khitan word with *terken*, which he have dealt with in Doerfer (II, 1965, 495–498): „*tärkän*, *terkän* ‘Titel für Damen....(ursprünglich für beide Geschlechter)’”. on p. 497 also on the Khitan title.

18 See Dankoff—Kelly I. 1982, 332

19 See F. W. K. Müller 1915, 6, line 4, quoted also by Clauson 1972, 544.

20 I accept for the time being the reading , though the contemporaneous Chinese transcription was *mo* 麼.

21 Karl Heinrich Menges teaching then at Columbia, New York, was the consultant for linguistic matters to Wittfogel. As it can also be seen from his monograph (Menges 1968), he overestimated the Manchu-Tunguzic influence on Khitan. Only one example: From the Chinese transcription *nou-wo-mo* he selected *wo* and wrote: “Dann müsste man in *wo* ein 2. Kompositionsglied mit *nou* (für *na*, *nā*, “Erde”) sehen, als das ein Äquivalent von Manjʹu *ba* “Ort, Platz, Stelle, Punkt; Gelengheit” in Frage käme, zumal im Manjʹu diese beiden etymologisch unklaren Wörter *ba* und *na* als ‘έν δια’ δυοῖν gebraucht werden” (Menges 1968, 34).

idea of Menges, and offered other possible origins. None of his suggestions were acceptable.²² G. Doerfer in a comment to Franke's paper²³ also criticized Menges and wrote „Ich glaube nicht, dass sich nur ein einziges tungusisches Wort im Liao nachweisen lässt“ (1969, 47).²⁴

In the Sino-Jurchen Vocabulary of the Bureau of Interpreters (SJVBI, ed Kane 1989) the word for 'earth' is **beho*, Manchu *boihon*, Shibe *biohěN*, *biohuN*, Chin *tu* 土. The Jurchen word *na* has the meaning 'land' Chin *dī* 地, while Chinese 'field' *tián* 田 is in Jurchen **uši*. The same do we find in the Jurchen version of the *Hua-Yi yiyu* (JHYYY) edited by Kiyose (1977, 99). The word *na* is present in almost all Manchu-Tunguzian languages. Its meaning is in the Tunguz-Russian dictionaries 'zemlja, suša, materik, mesto, pol, počva [earth, dry land, mainland, place, floor, soil]' (see Cincius 1975, 372–373). As in Russian the word *zemlja* has the meaning 'earth' and also 'land' (see Novaja Zemlja 'New Land') and as Mongolian *gajar* has the meaning 'earth, soil, ground, land', it is possible, that the Jurchen data above are late and learned distinctions, and *na* was used for all these meanings.

There are however further problems with the Jurchen comparison. The Jurchen word is backvocalic, while the Khitan is front vocalic. True, Khitan is a highly palatalized language, e.g. Mongolic *sara* 'Moon, month' is in Khitan *sār*, Mongolic *nara* 'Sun, day' is in Khitan *nār*. But these are exceptions and these open vowels are treated by the system as back vocalic. The word for 'uncle' is in Mongolian *naqa*, Khitan *naha*, Mongolian *ala*- 'to kill' is in Khitan *al*.

Another problem is that *newe* is a bisyllabic word, while *na* is in all Manchu-Tunguzian languages a monosyllabic one, though its vowel is long.

While we have to abandon the connection of Khitan *newe* with Jurchen *na* 'land, earth', there existed another Jurchen word which had a very near if not identical pronunciation with Khitan *newe*.

The word for 'younger sister', Chin *mei* 妹, is in the SJVBI rendered by Jurchen *neu-u*. Kane (1989, 268) quotes from the JHYYY a cognate *niyohun* 'younger sister' (see Kiyose 1977, 113), and Manchu *non*, see below. A better cognate may be Manchu *nehū* 'a slave girl', also *nehūji* 'with a peculiar spelling of soft *h* before *ū*' as remarked by Norman (1967, 299, after Hauer). Rybatzky (2006, 630) added Sibe *nexu*, *nehu* 'Hausklavin, Magd, Hausdienerin' from Kaluzynsky 1977, 232. This Manchu word, as it was remarked by Rozycki (1994, 161), has to be a loanword (with the 'soft *h*'). The original Manchu words are the following: Manchu *neku* 'a woman's female friend, sworn sister', *neku* 'the wife of one's mother's brothers, pl. *nekcute*'.²⁵

22 SHM *no'u* 'Geländeecke', *nigun* 'Knabe', *načigai eke* 'Earth mother'.

23 Doerfer 1969, 47.

24 This may have been of course an overstatement, but Doerfer was right in rejecting most of the Tunguz etymologies of Khitan words and suggested by Menges partly to Wittfogel and later in Menges 1968.

25 The suffix *-cu* is the same as in Khitan *nahaju*.

The word family is present in the Manchu-Tunguzian languages. The protoform **nekun* has in all Manchu-Tunguzian languages the basic meaning ‘younger relative from both gender’, ‘younger sister and brother’, sometimes also ‘younger niece or nephew’, (Evenki *nekū*, Solon *nexū*, Even *nō*, Negidal *nuxu*, *nexu*, *nexuj*, Orochon *noko*, *nokko*, Udihe *neädiga*, Ulcha *neku*, Orok *noyon’e*, *nokono*, *noko*, *nūggū*, *nūkkū*, *nuku*, Nanai *neil*, *negil*, *neku* (Cincius 617–618),²⁶ see also Manchu *non* ‘younger sister, pl. *nota*’.

The Evenki word was compared by Poppe (1960, p. 38) with „MMong, Mong” *nekün* ‘slave, girl slave’. The word *nekün* occurs in the Secret History of Mongols (SHM) in the 200 § in the expression *bool nekün* translated by de Rachewiltz as ‘slaves and servants’ (Rachewiltz, p. 129) to which Rachewiltz adds on p. 744 „*Nekün* is one of the several terms used by the ancient Mongols to designate domestics (see Vlad[imircov] 2, 154 and n7) and is glossed *chia-jen* ‘household servant’”. Though *jia-ren* 家人 is the name of the house or family servant, the expression *bogol-nekün* is a compound word consisting of the constituents *bogol* ‘(male) and *nekün* (female) servants, i.e. servants of both genders as *ečige-eke* ‘parents (father and mother)’. That means that *nekün* itself is the name of the female servant, female house servant. The word occurs in the SHM also as part of the name *Nekün taiishi*. He is the son of Bartan ba’atur, son of Kabul kan and was the elder brother of Chingis kan’s father Yisügei or with other words he was a cousin of Chingis kan. He appears in the paragraphs 50, 54, 56, 122, 130, 179 and played an important role in the history. His son was Kucharbeki, one of the leaders who made qan of Temüjin, the later Chingis kan. In this name the word *nekün* may mean, that he was born from a *nekün*, from a female house servant. There occurs a non-identified placename in the SHM *Nekün Usun* according to de Rachewiltz ‘Slave Water’, a better „translation” would be ‘Maiden Spring’, the spring where the girl servants take water.

The expression in the form نڪون بول *nekün bol* occurs in the Middle Mongolian wordlist of the Anonymous of Leiden (A.D. 1343, ed. Poppe, 1928, 72). Important is the remark of Poppe: „*nikün* ist ein unbekanntes Wort. Vgl. übrigens den Namen *nekün taiisi* und mandžu *nexun* ‘Sklavin’ (Poppe 1928, 72). This means that the word was present in Middle Mongolian, but disappeared in the later Mongolic languages, because the signified special social group of house maiden disappeared.

A female name derived from the basic word occurs in two Khitan inscriptions. It is clear in the inscription Qing5:

全本出 引化欠不 今币及雨 百几 欠欠伏 今委伏有 符为

<s-ar-ha-án ja-ri-qó-on t-od-o-ón em ku neu-uh-ñ pu-ši-ñ-en b-qo>

‘the son of mylady New-uh-ñ, the fifth wife of the Prime Minister S.ar.ha.án was...’

26 The work of Cincius et al contains a more rich material, I have only selected the most important data.

The same name occurs also in Nan7. The reconstruction of this name may be *Neuyín. The suffix **+uh+ñ** occurs in the following Khitan names. *Jur.uh.ñ* (Ling9), *T.il.uh.ñ* (Gu1, 7, 9, 23), *P.ul.uh.ñ* (Gao2, Han2), *L.búl.uh.ñ* (Di23, Tu22), *Ci.ie.uh.ñ* (Jue11) and *227.uh.ñ* (Hui22). In case of the name *T.il.uh.ñ* we know that the base of the word: *T.il.uh* is the famous Khitan clan name, transcribed into Chinese *dilu* 敵魯. The basic word of the name *P.ul.uh.ñ* is <p.ul.uh> 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 (295.366.172) ‘surplus, intercalary month’, Chin *run* 閏 (K103, 41–9, WJ 142, occurs 18 times), which itself is a Khitan name and goes back to <p.ul.u> 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 (295.366.131) ‘surpass’, Chin *yue* 越. As it is well known the name of the famous Hülegü kan (1217?–1265), grandson of Chinggis qan and brother of Kubilaj has the same origin.

Because of univocal syntagmatic rules the final *-ñ* cannot be here the suffix of the genitive case. Thus **Newuhiñ** has to be a Khitan personal name, which may be connected with the basic word **New-e** and may be the connection with Jurchen *neu-u*, Manchu *nehū*, Sibe *nexu*, *nehu*.

Returning to the Khitan word **newe**, we can state that phonologically it can be connected with Jurchen *neu-u* ‘younger sister’, but semantically it is not an evident connection. One would have to suppose a semantic change ‘young woman’ → ‘Earth’, or ‘young woman’ → ‘Mother Earth’, or even ‘young woman’ > female spirit’ > Earth Mother’. The problem is not in the idea that the earth is a female being – this is an ubiquitous idea. At present I could not find any data which would help to overbridge the semantic gap. Thus we can only state, that Khitan **newe** is used in the elevated Khitan language as a honorific designation for ‘earth’, it is used to denote the Empress or it is used together with „heaven” in the Khitan locutions „heaven and earth” as in the inscriptions Dao37–11/13, Xing36–4 or Yu16–12/13.

The following glyph 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 (238) denotes ‘birth’, the gloss in CWJ 424 is *sheng* 生 ‘to give birth’. There were several suggestions for the reading of this glyph. Ji Shi proposed to read it as <tur> leaning on Mongolic *törü-* ‘to be born’, Wang Hongli suggested <men> comparing it with Mongolian *mendüle-* ‘to be born, said of illustrious persons’. Kane (63), who quoted his predecessors, gave no reading and remained at the logogram BORN. CWJ, 264 offers the reading <sui>.

According to a personal letter²⁷ of Wu Yingzhe (2020.03.26) this is based on the following: The personal Chinese name 隋哥 Sui Ge is written as <BORN G.e> 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 (Song11–22) and also recorded as 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 <s.ui.i g.e> (Hong17–6, 21–10), so 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 is equal to 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤, and then 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 has to be read as “sui”. There is an expression: 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 (Chao5–35) <BORN.l.ha.a.ar ai> which means “natural father”, (Born father?), this is written also 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 (Xiang8–28) <BORN.il.ha.ar> but sometimes recorded also as 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 <s.oiz.l.ha.a.er ai> (Guang3–10). In this case BORN is equal with “soi” (see also CWJ 265, 266).

The word 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 (238) occurs three times alone: in Dao23–27, in Song11–22, in Ren 24–24 and in our inscription. In our inscription 𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 (238.361) is written separately and one beneath the other, but this is due only to the usage in this inscription, a form

27 Thanks to Wu Yingzhe for his permission to quote his letter.

of highlighting. The form 相当 (238.361) occurs 50 times, where the basic word has an adjectivizer suffix thus <sui.én> is an adjective qualifying the next word.

The next word is 𠂇 (159). This glyph, as we have seen above, has to be read **när**²⁸ and has the meaning ‘day, also Sun’, glossed by CWJ by *ri* 日. It occurs isolated 125 times in the corpus, it has a form in a locative-terminative case <när-de> ‘on the day’, occurring 63 times in the texts. The word had to be considered by the Khitan system to be back vocalic, as we find 𠂇 今化当 𠂇立本关<MR t-ur-én DAY-ha-ar-i> where in this name <När> is followed by the backvocalic syllables <ha.ar> in Gu19–12. On the other hand the genitive case is <Day.en> 𠂇力 (159.140) which points to a front vocalic stem. The palatalized character may be seen in those cases where the genitive case is written with <h> which occurs in four cases.

The expression <sui.en när> has the meaning ‘birthday’.

The first word of the second line is <go.er> 𠂇𠂇 (319.341). This word occurs isolated 128 times, in 38 cases written one beneath the other, and in 80 cases in a box, side by side. The genitive case <go.er.en> occurs 59 times, and the accusative-instrumental case <go.er.er> only once. As it was remarked by Kane, this term refers to a tribal unit, and is translated into Chinese usually as *zhang* 帳 or *zhangfang* 帳房 ‘tent’. The greater family of the Emperor was also called the Patriarchal Tent *fu zhang* 父帳, see WF 732 (Index). There existed Senior and Junior Tents. The word <go.er> is glossed by CWJ with *jia* 家 ‘home, nationality’ and on page 468 as *fang* 房 ‘house, home’. The word is used similarly to the European usage, as in the case of the *Habsburg house*.

It is highly probable that this word can be compared with Mongolic *ger* ‘tent, house’. But it may be perhaps not due to a mere chance that it is not written with <g> 𠂇 (334), or <ge> 𠂇 (349) or <ge2> 𠂇 (112). The form <g.er> (334.341) occurs twice: Xing22–5 and Xu61–8, unfortunately in not clear places.

The form <ge.er> (349.341) occurs only once in Xing16–26: 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 <s-or-or li2-l ge-er RECORD-e> where it is probable that it has to be read as <...li2 l-ge-er RECORD-e>, in any case this cannot be the word for ‘tent’. The form <ge2.er> does not appear at all.

Shimunek (2017, 341) suggested to consider the probability of an areal contact or a loanword relationship with Tibetan *gur* ‘tent’. The word *ger* has backvocalic forms in the archaic Mongolic Baoan, and front and backvocalic forms alternate in Kangjia (Nugteren 2011, 340, where also Nugteren mentions the possible influence of Tibetan).

The word occurs in the dative-locative as <go t> 𠂇𠂇 (319.247) nine times, written one beneath the other and 24 times side by side. Here we see that the final -r is disappearing. A clear example:

28 The reading *näyr* proposed by Shimunek 2017, 431 cannot be substantiated.

(DiX24–22) 丕 兀 和 符 列 出 无 又 为 突 芬 才 为 女 州 余 丰 和 全 雨 / 杰 尔 曲 芬 和
 为 公 及 丕 兀 和 / 曲 令 及 平 泰 与

<tai shī-en b-hu-án tau GREAT a-an-e ia deu-un SMALL-qu ai-en s-in ong-on
 go-er-en tu n-u tai shī-en go-t u-ul-gez-én>

‘The Grand Preceptor had five children, the eldest was A.an.e, she was given in marriage to the house of Grand Preceptor Tu Nu of the house of Prince S.in of the junior uncles’ (Wu-Janahunen 2010, 102).

The genitive case <go.er.en> we find five times written one beneath the other and 54 times side by side. There are a few more cases written with <oi> 𐰽 (347) some of which are misreadings for <er> as the data from Xiang15–32, 19–4 and 39–48 corrected already by Wu – Janahunen (2010).

The dative case shows clearly that we can not read /ger/. We may suppose that the Khitan form goes back to a form *g^uer.²⁹ There would be one argument in favour of this claim. As we have seen above the reading <go> was suggested by the earlier authors following the Khitan transcription of the Chinese title *guanchashi* 觀察使 ‘investigative officer’ as 𐰽 公 雨 兀 (319.251.375.180) <go.n.ca šī> (Kane 73). In fact the Chinese original has *kua- see MCh *kuan cha:t šr and if we are consequent, we should transcribe the reading of the glyph 𐰽(319) as <gua> and not <go>, and the word for ‘tent’ as <gua.er> a possible way to render *g^uer.³⁰ It is known that labiovelar initials existed in this area, among others also in Old Chinese, but at present I will not go further.³¹

The third word in the second line is <qa> 𐰽 (053). CWJ gives *han* 汗 as transcription for **qan**. It occurs in the corpus 46 times. This is the tile *Qan* without the final -n. It occurs as *qa* in the Secret History of the Mongols seven times (see de Rachewiltz 2004, I, 315).

The form without a final -n is also written as 𐰽 力 (053.189) <qa.a> and occurs twice (Gao7–8, Xian6–42).

The title *qan* with the final -n is written as 𐰽 𐰽 (053.011) <qa.an> and occurs 26 times. A variant <qa.a.an> 𐰽 力 𐰽 (053.189.011) can be find in the corpus only three times.³²

For **qa** we find in the corpus such examples as:

𐰽 𐰽 公 尔 和 住 及 弱 𐰽 <SIX.er n.on.en mu.u.ji qa> (Xing10–4) ‘the holy kan of the sixth generation’,³³

29 Shimunek (2017, 340) reconstructed for Common Serbi-Mongolian *gwər.

30 May be the Khitan glyph for ‘emperor’ 𐰽 (075), Chinese *huang* 皇 should also be trascribed <huang> and not <hong> as it was done under the influence of modern Mongolian *qong*.

31 The word has to be separated from Khitan *gūr* <g.úr> 𐰽 𐰽 (334.097) ‘state, country’, plural *güres* 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 (334.097.244), the base of the title *gūrqa*. The expression <g.úr go.er> ‘the Patriarchal Tent of the country occurs in line 19 of GuD. Jacques (2010, 163) proposed to compare Khitan *gur* with Tibetan *gur* ‘tent’.

32 The form <qa.an> 𐰽 𐰽 (053.011) is also used to transcribe several Chinese syllables, mostly Han, <qa.a.an> is occurring e.g. in Jue as the transcription of qagan: 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 <go-er qa-a-an cau-úr-i> ‘the army of the kagan of the (Patriarchal) House’.

公及 丹为 𐰽 <n.o b.qo qa> (Xing31–10) ‘the spouse, the son, the kan’,³⁴
 令旁 令𐰽 九安和 𐰽 <t.le s.ung g.ur.en qa> ‘the kan of the South Song country’
 (Ren8–14),³⁵

口 非朱 令𐰽 化安和 丹为 𐰽 尔关 九药和 𐰽 𐰽 <te po.do s.o.i.ri.úr.en b.qo qa
 QATUN.i g.ji.en h.or> ‘At this time the son by birth, the kan, the katun....’ (Ren16–
 13).³⁶

𐰽 丹为 尔关𐰽 <qa b.qo c.i.i.ši> ‘the kan, the son and the relatives’ (Ren28–9)³⁷
 𐰽 九安令 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 <tum g.ur.s hu₂.ú qa ol mu.u.ji.d
 u.ur ai us.g dor> ‘all ten thousand lands and many holy qans, ancestors, written
 ritual’ (Dao10–18)³⁸

令𐰽 及𐰽 𐰽 <s.abu.u.or qa> ‘the heir qan’ (Dao33–2),³⁹

The form <qa.ad.i> 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 (053.099.339) is a name ‘Qaadi’ read Khadi who was
 a ‘court attendant’ according to DiX16–13. See also <qa-ad-i sh-a-rí> (Hu37–12).

The title *qagan* is written mostly as 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 (053.051.011) <qa.ha.an> which
 occurs 81 times. Its plural is <qa.ha.ad> 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 (053.051.099).

We have to call the attention to the fact that in the glyph system of Khitan there
 does not exist a glyph for <qan>, we have only <qa.an>, <qa.a.an> and <qa.ha.an>.

The morpho-phonetic rules for the use of **qa** and **qan** have to be investigated.

The functions of **qa/qan** and **qagan** and their relation in the Khitan society
 deserves a separate study.⁴⁰

In the case of the fourth word the basic verb is: **ü(w)**- 𐰽 <ü> (372) ‘to give,
 provide’. The Khitan word can be compared with Mongolic *ög-* ‘to give’.⁴¹ The
 Khitan verb stem occurs in many derivatives, among them as **üwüi** 𐰽 𐰽 (372.262)
 <ü.ui> ‘gave, granted’, a converbal form in *-ui* of **ü-** which occurs 26 times mostly
 in sentences as ‘X title was awarded’. The form 𐰽 𐰽 <ü.er> (372.341) occurs 28
 times. It is the past tense form of the verb (see Kane 145) and thus can be translated
 ‘gave, was given’ or even ‘presented’. It occurs also in such expressions as
 <HEAVEN ü.er> ‘heaven bestowed, given by the Heaven’, (DiX3–23–24, 27–9,
 Xiang39–35).

33 See <n.on> ‘generation’, CWJ *dai* 代, <mu.u.ji> ‘holy’ CWJ *sheng* 圣.

34 <n.o> ‘spouse’, CWJ *pei ou* 配偶, <b.qo> ‘son’, CWJ *zi* 子.

35 <t.le> ‘south’, CWJ *nan* 南, <s.un> ‘Song’ CWJ 宋, <g.ur> ‘country’, CWJ *guo* 國

36 <te> ‘this, that’, CWJ *gai* 该, <po.do> ‘at the time’, CWJ *shi yu* 时于, <s.o.i.ri.úr.en> ‘born’ see
 above.

37 <ci.i.i.ši> ‘(blood) relatives’.

38 <tum> ‘ten thousand, a unit’, CWJ *wan* 万; <hu₂.ú> ‘together’ CWJ *tong, zhang* 统, 掌;
 ‘all, many’ CWJ *zhong* 众, <u.ur> ‘ancestor’ CWJ *xianzu* 先祖; <ai> ‘father’ CWJ *fu* 父, <u.ur
 ai> ‘ancestors’, <us.g> ‘letter, writing’, CWJ *zi* 字; <dor> ‘ceremony, ritual; seal, law’ CWJ *li*,
 礼 *yin* 印.

39 <s.abu.u.or> ‘heir’, CWJ 915 *si* 嗣, 433 <s.abu.u.or qa> ‘heir apparent’, CWJ *si han* 嗣汗

40 Wu remarked in his letter quoted above that „It is quite common in the inscriptions in Khitan
 Small Script to use 𐰽 𐰽 𐰽 to denote “the emperor of the current dynasty”.

41 Dahur has: Da *uke-*, DaE *uk^w-*.

Summary: The jade jar has preserved a personal message by one of the Khitan emperors to his wife, and gives us a small insight into the everyday life of the Khitan court. Its analysis offers new insights into the script and language of the Khitans.

Abbreviations

CWJ = Chinggeltei – Wu Yingzhe – Jiruhe 2017

JHYYY = Jurchen part of the Huayi yiyü, se Kiyose 1977

KSS = Khitan Small Script

LMCh = Late Middle Chinese

EMCh = Early Middle Chinese

SHM = Secret History of the Mongols, ed. de Rachewiltz 2004, 2013

SJVBI = Sino–Jurchen Vocabulary of the Bureau of the Interpreters, see Kane 1989

WF = Wittfogel – Fêng 1949

Kane = Kane 2009

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THE JADE JAR YuS



40-6 玉魁魁底拓片照片

Was the Chinggisid Khan an Autocrat? Reflections on the Foundations of Chinggisid Authority¹

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0. Introduction

In this paper in honor of my dear colleague Professor Mária Ivanics of the Department of Altaistics at Szeged University, I would like to consider some aspects of the basis of the Chinggisid state from its establishment through the Crimean Khanate in the 17th century. All too often the Chinggisid state is equated exclusively with the person of the Chinggisid khan, who is presumed to be an autocrat. In extreme cases—say most of Russian national historiography—the Chinggisid state (especially the Golden Horde) is presented as an all-powerful monolith, until, of course, it is defeated and no longer all-powerful.

How shall we explain the political foundations of the Chinggisid state in terms of the dynasty and loyalty to it, the participation of non-dynastic groups in the state, and the distribution of resources within the state? Analyzing the literature on what constitutes a “state” is too vast a topic to take up for the purposes of this study. A useful collection of articles on the topic is to be found in Grinin et al. (2004), to which we may add more recently Kradin (2018). I would suggest that— with the notable recent exceptions of Zhao (2008), De Nicola (2017), Broadridge (2018), and Landa (2019)—problematizing the social basis of political power and loyalty in the Chinggisid state has not been a priority for historians of the Mongol World Empire and even less so for historians of its subject states. For useful surveys of scholarship on the rise and structure of the Mongol World Empire see as well Trepavlov (1993) and Kradin (2019). As usual, when it comes to the topic of the social structure of the Golden Horde, I find it difficult to engage German Fedorov-Davidov (1973), a great scholar whom I otherwise admire as a numismatist and archeologist. In what follows I would like to share a few thoughts on this topic in an effort to contribute to problematizing the nature of the Chinggisid state.

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1. The “four-bey system”

To present my argument, I would like to begin with the briefest of overviews of the results from my earlier research which I have presented on a number of occasions (1984, 1986). Most recently the work has been published in Russian translation, with an English edition forthcoming (2019b, 2020 [in press]). I studied the features of a system of state organization with governance shared between the dynasty and the tribes which existed during the period of the “Later Golden Horde” (the period of the khanates of Kazan, Crimea, Kasimov, Astrakhan, and Siberia) lasting from the mid-15th century until the conquest of the Crimean Khanate in late 18th century. Professor Ivanics has also written about the significance of this principle of state organization (2017: 112–154, especially 138ff.).

The central feature of this system of governance was the presence of four individuals known as *qarachi* beys who formed a council of state in opposition to the Chinggisid khan. Each of the the *qarachi* beys was leader of his own tribe. (I introduced the term “ruling tribe” in an attempt to define these state-forming tribes in contrast to the other tribes in the state, whose definition will no doubt continue to elude us.) They played a role in the selection of the khan and could (and would) attempt to depose him. The leader of the four *qarachi* beys was known as the *ulugh qarachi* and by other names in Turkic and non-Turkic sources. According to the sources no edict of the khan was valid without their approval. The leader of the four *qarachi* beys also had a role in commanding the military forces in the state and conducting correspondence with foreign states.

I proposed in my study that this same system in the Later Golden Horde was characteristic of the Golden Horde (13th–14th centuries) and is, in fact, derived from it, even though the individual tribal configurations are not identical (1986: 202–203; 2019a; 2019b: 183–184). Moreover, I have argued that there is evidence to suggest that this system was also present in Ilkhanid Iran, the Chāghatay Khanate, and possibly Yüan China as well (1984; 1986: 80–126; 2019b: 77–117). This has also been discussed by Professor Ivanics (2017: 119–121). Recently Michael Hope (2017) has offered an alternative theory regarding the development of this institution in the Ilkhanate. As I have suggested elsewhere, the Shibanid state, which emerges from the Golden Horde—or more accurately the *ulus* of Jöchi, consisting of the White Horde (*Aq orda*) in the west and the Blue Horde (*Kök orda*) in the east—also has the same system of state organization (2015, 2019c).

My own research on this topic was inspired by the works of Edward L. Keenan, Jr. (1965, 1967), who interpreted the role of the *qarachi* beys as “magnates” rather than as tribal leaders, viewing them as representing the “land” (*zemlya* in the Russian sources) in opposition to the khan. I have not really encountered this term as such in the Islamic sources. It is quite possible that *zemlya* could be a calque of *ulus* ‘people, nation; country, state; empire; dynasty’ (Lessing 1960: 873) since that term is attested for the 14th century (see below). More recently I have understood that this

term could also refer to Turkic *el* ‘a political unit organized and ruled by an independent ruler’ (Clauson 1972: 121–122), a term which also exists in Mongolian (see the detailed discussion in Zimonyi 2003). If this is the case, it would be very significant for my argument here because, as Keenan proposed, the “state” was a union between the Chinggisid khan, who was the “vessel of sovereignty”, and the “land”, which really meant the population of the “state” (represented in my view by their tribal leaders). This relationship was formalized through the ritual installation of the khan by raising him on a felt rug, with two significant figures (or later the leaders of each of the four “ruling tribes”) holding the rug, each holding one corner of the rug. This was followed by the taking of an oath of fealty to the khan, see Schamiloglu (1986: 68–69; 2019b: 67–68). Professor Ivanics has also studied the sources for this ritual investiture (2017: 74–104).

Rather than focusing on the structures of administrative rule such as taxation to characterize the nature of the state (Allsen 1987; Di Cosmo 1999), I would like to define the state as a union between the khan from the Chinggisid dynasty and the population as represented by the tribes through the leadership of the four “ruling tribes”. Taking Keenan’s insights as a starting point, I would like to pursue the question of the nature of the Chinggisid state, including the question of how the socio-political basis of the state was managed in the relationship between the Chinggisid dynasty and the “land” (*ulus~el*). I will argue below that it was based on—or at least maintained through—a complex set of marital ties uniting the dynasty with the tribal leadership.

There was also an economic component to this relationship. The Chinggisid state is usually viewed primarily as a parasitic state extracting revenues (Di Cosmo 1999: 34ff.), without considering any services the state may have provided, especially the security offered merchants to promote commerce. (One would think that no historian of the Mongol World Empire has ever lived in a state which collects taxes.) This is not to say that the lower socio-economic classes were not exploited, but at least the “ruling tribes” and their members who represented the “citizen” population of the Chinggisid state shared in the resources of the state through mechanisms of exchange and redistribution of wealth. In the case of the earlier Golden Horde, for example, it appears that the four “ruling tribes” shared revenue from the taxation of trade, see my rereading of the passage in Mufaḍḍal concerning Noghay and the division of tax revenue from Sudaq in the late 13th century (1986: 138–140; 2019b: 128–130). For a different perspective see De Nicola (2017: 149ff.).

2. The foundations of a khan's reign

If we pause for a moment, I would like to complicate this a bit further by asking whether we should term this union between a Chinggisid khan and the leaders of the four “ruling tribes” representing the “land” (or perhaps more accurately the “people”) as a “state” or as a “reign”, as would be the case in Chinese history. Considering that the state established by Temüjin was situated in the borderlands of China, perhaps their understanding of the state and of reigns was informed or influenced by Chinese dynasties in the immediate pre-Chinggisid period. Given that each khan seems to have been installed through the ceremony described above and was sworn an oath of fealty by the “land”, did each installation of a new khan mean a renewal of the social and political contract between the sovereign and the “land”, including through new (or renewed) marital alliances? We do not have the evidence to argue the case one way or the other, but I believe that the transition from the preceding khan to his successor could not have been a simple matter for reasons which will become apparent below.

I would argue that marriage was instrumentalized by the Chinggisid dynasty and the dynasties of the hereditary leaders of the “ruling tribes” to form deep marital bonds between the Chinggisid dynasty and the tribes, especially the “ruling tribes”, which may have formed a majority of the “citizen” population of a given state. As I have proposed elsewhere, in the case of the *Aq orda* in the 13th–14th centuries these were apparently the Qiyat, Qongrat, Sijivut, and Mangıt. In the 15th–18th centuries in the khanates of Kazan and Crimea these were the Shirin, Arghın, Barın, and Qıpchaq (who arrived in the company of Toqtamış); in Kasimov they were the Arghın, Qıpchaq, Jalayır, and Mangıt. In contrast, the Shibanid state apparently consisted of the Qushchi, Nayman, Büyrek, and Qarlıq tribes (see Schamiloglu 1986: 45–56, 67n, 202–203; 2019b: 46–56, 66n, 183–184).

Broadridge describes the Qonggirat, Oirat, Kereit, Ikire, Öng’üt, and Uighur as “consort houses” during the early Chinggisid state (2018, 260–295). For a review of the literature on women in the Mongol World Empire, see De Nicola (2017: 1–33). If we consider the information on the wives of members of the Chinggisid dynasty mentioned in the section on the successors of Chinggis Khan by Rashīd al-Dīn (Rashīd al-Dīn/Boyle: 97–116), it is difficult to see any correlation between the information provided by Rashīd al-Dīn and the information for the Golden Horde and the Later Golden Horde which I have cited above, except for the Qongrat. Therefore we are confronted with the situation in which there is an almost complete disjuncture between the picture offered by Rashīd al-Dīn, who mentions a wide number of women of various tribes married to males in the Chinggisid line in the Golden Horde, versus the specific four “ruling tribes” for the Golden Horde in the second half of the 13th–14th centuries and the Later Golden Horde in the 15th–18th centuries.

3. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa on the Golden Horde élite during the time of Özbek Khan

A unique opportunity for a closer examination of the marital ties between the Chinggisid dynasty and the Golden Horde élite is offered by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited the territories of the Golden Horde in the early 1330s during the reign of Muhammad Özbek Khan. For a discussion of this account see also Zimonyi (2005). During his travels in the territory of the Golden Horde he met Özbek Khan's emir Tölük Temür of al-Qiram (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 471), Tölük Temür's brother ʿIsa and Tölük Temür's two sons Qutlu Temür and Sarubek (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 472–473). He also met Muhammad Khoja of Azaq (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 476, 479). Following his visit to Saray, he visited Khwarezm, the residence of the great emir Qutlu Temür (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 541). Although he did not meet him, he does mention the great emir ʿIsa Bek (who presumably could not be the same person as Tölük Temür's brother, since he would have had a different tribal affiliation), who is *amīr al-ulūs*, meaning 'emir of emirs' (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 488). If ʿIsa Bek was just one of the four *ulus* beys, not their leader, then this must be a mistranslation by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Were he indeed 'emir of emirs', he would have been the *bekleri bek* (cf. Trepavlov 1993: 87–91; De Nicola 2017: 139 and 171 note 81).

It seems likely that Tölük Temür, Muhammad Khoja, ʿIsa Bek, and Qutlu Temür were the four *ulus* beys at the time. In fact, Qutlu Temür's father (see below), who was leader of the four *ulus* beys under Toqta, had managed Özbek Khan's succession to the throne following Toqta's death (see Schamiloglu 1986: 149–152; 2019b: 137–139). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also mentions other emirs such as Naghatay whose tribal affiliation and role are not clear based on the contemporary sources (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 489). These individuals will be the unnamed participants in the court ritual of the Golden Horde which follows.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travelogue offers a treasure trove of data regarding ceremonial court ritual at the Golden Horde. The two descriptions reveal a very deep relationship based on marital ties between the Chinggisid dynasty and the great emirs. Both accounts are from his visit to Besh Dagħ, where the court was gathered for the celebration of ʿĪd al-Fiṭr, the festival at the end of the month of Ramaḍān falling that year on 26 June 1332 (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 492n).

According to the first description, it is Özbek Khan's custom after Friday prayers to sit in the Gold Pavilion. The khan sits on the throne with *khatun* Taytoghıla at his right and *khatun* Kebek next to her; to his left are the *khatun* Bayalun and *khatun* Orduja.² His first son (and heir) Tınıbek stands below the throne to his right and his

² See Pelliot 1949 for a discussion of *Bayalun* (83–85) and *Tay-Tūla~Tay-Dūla* (101–105). I propose to read the name ʾTYṬĠLY as *Taytoghıla~Taytovıla* or (with the Volga vowel shift) *Taytughıla~Taytuııla* 'a foal is born', reading both *Taytoghıla* and *Orduja* ('RDJY) in this passage with an *alif maqṣūra*. In later occurrences *Orduja* is spelled with a regular *alif*, see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Defrémery and Sanguinetti, 2: 383–384, 389, 395 ('RDJA), 397, 406 ('RDJA); and 3: 9.

second son Janıbek stands to the left of the throne. His daughter İt Küchüjük sits in front of him. In this description Ibn Baṭṭūṭa refers to the principal *khatun* Taytoğhıla as his queen, whom he meets and salutes as she enters; he sits on the throne only after she is seated. After this the great emirs come in and are seated to his right and left. In front of the khan are the scions of the Chinggisid dynasty, so his nephews, brothers, and relatives. Parallel to them, at the entrance to the pavilion, stand the sons of the great emirs, with the senior officers of the troops standing behind them (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 483–484).

The second description is of the procession on the morning of the festival. Özbek Khan rode on horseback among his troops, with each *khatun* riding in her own wagon accompanied by her troops. The khan's daughter accompanied him with a crown on her head as "queen" (see below). The khan's sons rode separately accompanied by his troops. The procession also included the religious establishment accompanying the designated successor Tınıbek. Once they arrived at a wooden pavilion the khan took his seat accompanied by his *khatuns*, with the designated successor and the "queen" (i.e., his daughter İt Küchüjük) sitting in a second pavilion. Two other pavilions were erected for the sons and relatives of the khan. Chairs were placed for the emirs to the right of the khan's pavilion and for the scions of the Chinggisid house to the left of the khan's pavilion. Each of the emirs of 10,000 (of whom there were 17) was also set up with a stand for observing archery practice by the soldiers under his command. Each emir of 10,000 was given a robe of honor, after which he paid homage to the khan. The emir was then presented with a horse and took his seat (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 492–494). Damir Isxakov offers a novel explanation for the presence of 17 emirs in this account (2019: 61–62).

The khan then descended from the pavilion and mounted a horse, with his designated successor Tınıbek and his daughter, the "queen" İt Küchüjük, to his right and his second son (Janıbek) to his left. With his four *khatuns* in their wagons in front of him, they all proceeded to a huge tent. The khan's throne was in the center. The khan and his principal *khatun* (Taytoğhıla) sat on a cushion in the middle of the throne. To his right sat his daughter İt Küchüjük (the "queen") and the *khatun* Urduja, with the *khatun* Bayalun and the *khatun* Kebek sitting to his left. Tınıbek sat on a chair to the right of the couch and second son Janıbek sat on a chair to the left of the couch. Other chairs were placed to the right on which the scions of the dynasty sat and to the left were the great emirs and then the lesser emirs of 1,000.

After the food and drink were brought in, they ate and drank according to precise rituals. Whenever the khan wishes to take a drink, his daughter (the "queen" İt Küchüjük) takes the bowl, presents homage to him, and presents the bowl to him. After he has drunk, she takes another bowl and presents it to the principal *khatun* and then the other *khatuns*, in order of precedence. Next the khan's heir takes the bowl, pays homage to his father the khan and presents the bowl to him, after which he presents it to the *khatuns* and his sister (the "queen" İt Küchüjük). The second son (Janıbek) then takes the bowl, pays homage to his brother, and presents him the bowl to drink. After this the great emirs rise and each one of them gives the bowl to

the khan's heir and pays homage to him. After this the lesser emirs also present drink to the sons of the khan. The festival celebrations concluded with the Friday prayers, to which the khan arrived late (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 494–496). Compare this as well with the ritual at the camp of the emir Saltiya, on whom more below (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 481).

These two descriptions confirm that the relationship between the khan and the great emirs is so formal that it is guided by a strict court ritual protocol. It can also be seen as depicting a precise delimitation between the category of scion of the Chinggisid dynasty (who should be descended from Chinggis Khan in the male line) and the other relatives, including the great emirs and their descendants, who may be descended from Chinggis Khan, but only through the female line.

4. The wives and daughters of Özbek Khan

It is clear from the account of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa that the Chinggisid dynast Özbek Khan entered regularly into marital ties with females who were closely related to the great emirs, who are the leaders of various tribes. Of course, the dynasty could also forge marital alliances with foreign states, too. He had four principal wives—echoing the system of four “ruling tribes”—but it appears that the four principal wives were not necessarily linked to the four “ruling tribes”. The affiliation of Özbek Khan's principal wife Taytoghıla, mother of Tınıbek and Janıbek, is not certain (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 486). His second wife is Kebek, daughter of emir Naghatay (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 487), the name of whose tribe is not known. His third wife Bayalun is daughter of the emperor of Byzantium (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 488). His fourth wife Orduja is daughter of the great emir (*amīr al-ulūs*) ʿIsa Bek, who appears to be one of the four *ulus* beys and perhaps even their leader (see above) (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 488). Given that ʿIsa Bek is also married to Özbek Khan's daughter (from the khan's first wife) İt Kūchūjūk (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 488–489), this makes ʿIsa Bek and Özbek Khan both father-in-law and son-in-law to each other (!).

Special mention should be made of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description of the role of Özbek Khan's daughter İt Kūchūjūk:

The sultan's daughter rode with a crown on her head, since she is the queen in reality, having inherited the kingdom from her mother (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 492–493).

Gibb, following Pelliot, suggests that she is the daughter of Özbek Khan's earlier wife Bayalun (*Baalin* in the Russian sources) who died in 1323, so not to be confused with the wife of the daughter of the Byzantine emperor who may have been conferred the same name in honor of the late earlier wife (Pelliot 1949: 84–85; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 493n.; Zimonyi 2005). This raises the interesting question of why Ibn Baṭṭūṭa sometimes describes İt Kūchūjūk as “queen” (like her mother before her), using the same term *malika* throughout (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Defrémery and

Sanguinetti, 2: 383–385, 389, 397, 403, 405). Does her status derive from the fact that she is the oldest child? Does her status derive from the fact that she was (as far as we know) the oldest daughter of the previous “queen”? It is not clear that there was a comparable figure in the Ilkhanate (see De Nicola 2017: 90–129).

Another possibility – and this is speculation – is that after Özbek Khan’s death she may have been in line to marry his successor Tīmibek, which predetermined her high status during Özbek Khan’s lifetime? Upon the death of a Chinggisid male, the deceased male’s son could take his father’s wives (excluding his own natural mother, of course) to be his own wives. For example, it is recorded that Bayan, son of Qonichi, son of Sartaqtay, son of Orda, took his father’s wives Barquchin, Chingtüm, and Altaju as his own (Rashīd al-Dīn/Boyle: 101). This is corroborated by John of Plano Carpini, who writes the Mongols marry any of their relations except for a mother, daughter, or sister by the same marriage. They can, however, marry any sisters who have the same father (but not the same mother). They can also marry their father’s wives upon his death, or else another younger relation is expected to marry the wife or wives. Women generally do not remarry after the death of a husband unless it is to marry a stepson (John of Plano Carpini/Dawson: 7). William of Rubruck’s account confirms most of these points, but clarifies that they observe first and second degrees of consanguinity. He also adds that the father’s *orda* always falls to the youngest son, who has to provide for all his father’s wives who come to him with his father’s effects (William of Rubruck/Dawson: 104). This speculative hypothesis is complicated, however, by the fact that she was the wife of ʿIsa Bek during the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa’s visit. But, as I noted earlier, it may be the case that even marriages are revisited as a part of the (re)newal of the social and political contract between the sovereign (i.e., the Chinggisid khan) and the “land” at the inception of a new reign (cf. the discussion in Zhao 2008: 18–30; Landa 2019: 222–223).

5. The wives of the ulus beks & other emirs

Of the four *ulus* emirs about whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives us information, we have information concerning several of their wives. It is clear from the information offered by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa that the *ulus* emirs regularly entered into marital ties with the Chinggisid dynasty by marrying female members of the dynasty, be it daughters of the Chinggisid khan or other close female relatives. ʿIsa Bek is described as “still alive” and married to Özbek Khan’s daughter İt Kūchūjūk (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 489), as already noted above. Qutlu Temür is married to *khatun* Törebek, but it is not clear what her ancestry is (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 544). In addition to these principal emirs, another emir named ʿAli b. Arzaq (or Arzan) is married to the sister of Özbek Khan’s daughter İt kūchūjūk, so somebody we may take to be the second daughter of Özbek Khan (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 489). While the wife of emir Saltiya (*Salṭīya*) is mentioned only in connection with the wagon in which she was traveling, it is not

clear what her family background is (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 480). But could the emir's name be a garbled rendering of the name of the "ruling tribe" *Saljiut-Sijivut*? That would make sense, given that they appear to have been one of the four "ruling tribes" of the Golden Horde, at least in a later period.

One final point made by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is that Qutlu Temür, who is himself described as a great emir (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 541), is the son of the maternal aunt of Özbek Khan and the "greatest of his emirs" (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 544). This seems to suggest that Özbek Khan's mother's sister was married to the head of the *ulus* emirs, the *bekleri bek* (*amīr al-umarā'* in the Arabic sources). Earlier, the greatest of his emirs was Qutlu Temür. Can this mean that the Qutlu Temür whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa saw is the son of the earlier Qutlu Temür who was *bekleri bek* first under Toqta Khan and who then orchestrated the selection and installation of Özbek as khan?

These marital ties are not limited to just one generation, either: Qutlu Temür's son Harun Bek (who may have been in line to succeed his father) is married to the daughter of Özbek khan and his wife Taytoghıla (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 544).

In addition to this marriage, *khatun* Törebek's sister Jija is identified as the wife of the *qāḍī* of Khorezm, Abū Ḥafs 'Umar al-Bakrī, which shows that there was a similar marital relationship with the Islamic religious establishment. This marital alliance between the dynasty and the religious class was clearly a later development, possibly dating only to the reign of Özbek Khan (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 543, 546).

6. Defining the nature of the Chinggisid state

To return to the question I raised at the beginning of this paper: how do we define the nature of the Chinggisid state (at least from the perspective of a historian of the Golden Horde)? If we follow Keenan, the state is formed (or at least renewed) when the khan is raised by the leaders of the four "ruling tribes". Through the oath of fealty, the bond between the "sovereign" and the "land" (or "people"?) is formalized. Does this then require (or simply result in) a series of marriages to formalize these ties? Or is the system of marital ties a form of stability (a socio-political gyroscope, so to speak) to allow one to at least be able to expect political stability and perhaps to guide succession in the future as well? In the end, is it incorrect to speak of the (re)creation of the state each time a new khan is installed, in which case would it be more correct to use the equivalent of "reign" for the Golden Horde and/or the other Chinggisid states?

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reveals that underlying the "four-bey system" which I have described in detail elsewhere involves, at least in the first half of the 14th century, a very deep system of marital alliances between the Chinggisid dynast and the descendants of the leaders of "ruling tribes" and other tribes as well in the form of the khan taking the daughter of a tribal leader as a wife or granting the hand of his daughter (or another close female relative) to a tribal leader or his son. This has also been noted for the Khanate of Crimea by Zaytsev (2014: 257). This seems to have been the

basis of the political power of the khan, namely the power to mobilize the population of the tribes through its leadership with whom he was allied on the basis of marriage. This was also the basis of the loyalty of the tribes to the Chinggisid khan, who was able to (re)distribute wealth to the tribes through their leaders in the form of revenue-producing sites of tax collection and other sources of wealth.

As we know, just because the system was set up (or evolved) in this manner, it did not guarantee stability. While Ibn Baṭṭūṭa clearly described Tīmībek as the heir apparent, he could write (many years after the fact) that Tīmībek would, in fact, be “killed for disgraceful things” and that Janībek, who succeeded him, was far more worthy (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 490). What is more, I have tried to show elsewhere that, with the death of Berdībek, the Golden Horde was destined for complete and utter collapse because of the Black Death (see most recently Schamiloglu 2017, 2018a, b). The system which was able to mediate the relationship between the Chinggisid dynast and the leading “ruling tribes” (and through them the rest of the state) could not survive sudden severe depopulation, including decimation of large segments of the ruling élite. The collateral principle of Chinggisid succession based on genealogy would, in the final analysis, spell a recipe for disaster in a time of pandemic. The only surprise is that the Golden Horde (in this case the *Aq orda*) survived as long as it did in such an era, perhaps because of the deep ties between the dynasty and the “ruling tribes” described above. This system would finally implode, however, upon the death of Berdībek, a period during which there were severe waves of bubonic plague afflicting the territories of the Golden Horde, including its capital Saray.

7. Concluding discussion: Was the Chinggisid Khan an autocrat?

The accounts I have described lead me to a conclusion which could be, in fact, the subject for a separate study, namely: Was the Chinggisid khan an autocrat? The evidence from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa confirms my earlier findings that the khan of the Golden Horde in the 14th century had close socio-political ties with the tribal élite, especially the leaders of the four “ruling tribes”, who shared in the governance of the state. It does not offer a clear answer, however, to the question of whether the khan was an all-powerful autocrat or not. My guess, based on this evidence, is that he was less powerful than, say, the Ottoman sultan (who to my mind was an absolute monarch without any structural restrictions beyond the *sheyhülislam*, which was not a fundamental native structure of the Turko–Mongolian state, but rather an Islamic institution). Let me examine briefly three separate examples related to this spanning the 13th–17th centuries.

First, for Veselovsky (1922), the contentious relationship between emir Noghay and Toqta in the late 13th century did not make sense except to view Noghay, whom I have argued elsewhere was the head of the *ulus* emirs in the second half of the 13th century (above), as a second khan. In my view, this obsession with the power of the

Chinggisid khan may have had as much to do with the search for the origins of autocracy in Imperial Russia (even in early Soviet times) as it did with an attempt to understand the institutions of the Golden Horde in the 13th century.

Second, in the case of the Khanate of Kazan, it is clear that the khan was undermined by the relationship of the “ruling tribes” of the land, especially the Shirin “ruling tribe”, who negotiated for example with the Shibanid Mamuq and the grand duke of Muscovy, thereby undermining the position of the Chinggisid khan. In terms of the historical relationship between the four *qaraçı* beys and the Chinggisid khan, this was – arguably – completely normal. For the political history of the Khanate of Kazan see most recently Baxtin and Xamidullin (2014). This history can also be viewed through a Tatar nationalist lens as a “betrayal” of the Tatar nation (just think of the last khan Shah ‘Ali, whose name is synonymous in modern Kazan Tatar with ‘traitor’). This is, of course, completely anachronistic for the 16th century, as there was no concept of a Tatar “nation” until the late 19th century, the foundation for which was laid by the great Tatar scholar Shihabeddin Märjani (see Schamilogu 1990, 2019, 2020).

Third and last, let us consider the case of the Crimean Khanate in the 17th century. Evliya Chelebi’s account of his visit to the Crimean Khanate includes a remarkable description of the relations between the new Crimean khan “Choban Giray” (Adil Giray, r. 1666–1671) and the Shirin “ruling tribe”. Following his arrival in Kefe on 6 June 1667, the new khan set out three days and three nights later to travel to the capital Bahchesaray (Evliya Çelebi/Cevdet, 8: 31–32; Evliya Çelebi/Çevik, 7: 556–557; Evliya Çelebi/Dankoff et al., 8: 195a–b).

As he left Kefe in the direction of Eski Kırım, the notables of the khanate met him and, removing their hats, they then rubbed their faces against the hem of his garment. The next day, however, 20,000 Shirin troops came fully armed to meet the khan. They did not ever get off their horses, but they did take off their hats to greet the khan and then withdrew into formation. The khan continued to greet everyone with good humor.

Following his installation, which was followed by three days and nights of feasts, on the fifth day the notables gathered and told the khan:

Kânûn-ı Cinkız Hân’ımızdır kim otuz yılda bir felek günleri devr edüp otuz sene temâmında her kankı hân bulunursa Kırım içinde olan esîr başına birer kızılga altun esîr zekâtı almak kânûnumuzdur. Şimdi otuz yıl başı bu hânımızın tâli’ine düşüp Osmânlıya borcu olduğundan esîr başına beşer guruş alsın.

“It is the law of our khan Chinggis that when the stars of fortune turn once every 30 years, whoever is the khan when the 30 years have been completed will collect one gold coin in alms-tax for each slave to be found in Crimea. Now is the beginning of the 30th year and it has been the bad lot of our khan to be indebted to the Ottomans. Let him collect 5 *kurush* per slave” (Evliya

Çelebi/Cevdet, 8: 33–34, Evliya Çelebi/Çevik, 8: 5; Evliya Çelebi/ Dankoff et al., 8: 195b–196a).

After the legal authority for this was granted, they counted the slaves in 24 *kadı* districts and arrived at a figure of 400,000 Cossack slaves. The khan decided to distribute hundreds in alms-tax to the *mirzas* and soldiers, 100,000 to the *karachıs* and their people and the palace troops, and 100,000 to the religious class. Out of the 100,000 remaining to himself he also distributed funds to members of his retinue. Thus, he was able to convince the entire class of notables to agree to the tax. Yet when palace officials went to collect the tax from the Shirin tribe, they were beaten up and sent back to the palace, having been relieved of the taxes they had already collected. This led to a confrontation between the khan and the Shirin leaders, following which the khan agreed to forego the alms-tax in exchange for Shirin participation on the campaign against Moscow. Despite the agreement, the Shirin were not pleased with the terms of their participation and decided to march on Bahchesaray to kill the khan and other leading officials. The Shirin decided to give up on their plans and flee only upon hearing that there were Ottoman troops along with other Crimean tribes lying in wait for them. The khan decided to take action against them at that point, including obtaining *fetvas* from all four legal schools supporting their extermination and allying with their rivals, the Mansur “ruling tribe”, to raid them and seize their holdings (Evliya Çelebi/Cevdet, 8: 34–38, Evliya Çelebi/Çevik, 8: 5–8; Evliya Çelebi/Dankoff et al., 8: 196a–197a). The story does not end with this, but our retelling of it must.

This briefest summary of the episode of the confrontation between Adil Giray and the Shirin “ruling tribe” shows very clearly that the relationship between the khan (who, to be fair, had just arrived in Crimea following the absence of a khan for some time) and the leading “ruling tribe” could be very contentious and even deadly. Through the redistribution of resources (or, in this case, exemption from the alms-tax), the Crimean khan in the 17th century could (at times) buy the loyalty of his tribal forces, but that might not be enough to maintain their loyalty on a regular basis. I can guess at the many ways in which the Crimean khanate in the 17th century—since 1475 a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire—might have been different from the Golden Horde in the 13th–14th centuries (that would be a whole study unto itself), but I think we have enough data points to see continuity in the economic relationship between the dynast and the tribal leadership, including the fact that the khan could simply not count upon his ability to control the loyalty of the leadership of the “ruling tribes”.

In the end, we must acknowledge that there is little basis—perhaps even none whatsoever (!)—for believing that the khan of the Golden Horde, the khan of Kazan, or the khan of the Crimea was an autocrat with unlimited power. Rather, the evidence (albeit limited and spanning five centuries) suggests that the state was organized on the basis of a relationship between the dynasty and the “ruling tribes”, that this relationship needed to be renewed with each successive ruler, that the

relationship was based upon (or maintained through) marital ties, and that it was also based in part upon economic redistribution to maintain the loyalty of the tribal élite (representing the “citizen” population of the state).

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Entstehung eines auf Osmanisch verfassten Friedenskonzepts. Ein Beitrag zu der Vorgeschichte des Friedens von Eisenburg 1664*

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In den letzten Jahren habe ich mich im Rahmen eines Forschungsprojekts mit der Vorgeschichte und den Dokumenten des Friedensschlusses von Eisenburg (ung. Vasvár), sowie den Varianten des Friedenstextes befasst.¹ Im Laufe dieser Arbeit habe ich ein in Osmanisch verfasstes Dokument in arabischer Schrift im Österreichischen Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, in der Unterserie Türkei I. aus dem Jahr 1663 gefunden, das während früherer Verhandlungen entstanden sein sollte. Dieses Dokument wird am Ende dieses Beitrags – in den Kontext der Friedensverhandlungen eingebettet – veröffentlicht. Weil wir früher mit Professorin Mária Ivanics im Thema des Friedens von Eisenburg einen gemeinsamen Aufsatz geplant haben, so bietet mir diese Festschrift die Möglichkeit, einerseits dieses Versäumnis nachzuholen, andererseits Ihnen meine Ehre zu erweisen und zugleich mich bei Ihnen für Ihre ständige und fachliche Hilfe zu bedanken.

Obzwar der Friedensvertrag am 10. August 1664 vom Großvesir Köprülü Ahmed Pascha (1661–1676) und Simon Reniger von Reningen, kaiserlichen Residenten in Konstantinopel (1649–1665), unterzeichnet wurde, gingen ihm mehr

* Dieser Beitrag wurde im Rahmen der Forschungsgruppe für Osmanisches Zeitalter der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften – Universität Szeged angefertigt.

1 Im Rahmen des Projekts OTKA [Országos Tudományos Kutatási Alapprogramok, äquivalent zu Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung, K 109070, 2013–2018] namens *Alltage und kaiserliche Politik in der Zeit der Köprülü Restauration* wurden die regelmäßigen Relationen des kaiserlichen Residenten in Konstantinopel (1649–1665), Simon Reniger von Reningen, edirt: Papp, S., Cziráki, Zs., Tóth, H., Szabados, J. *Everyday Life and Imperial Politics in the Köprülü Era. Reports of the Resident Envoy, Simon Reniger from Constantinople to the Vienna Court (1649–1660)*. Szeged 2018. [Manuskript]

als zwei Jahre diplomatische Verhandlungen voran.² Am Anfang des Jahres 1662 zogen kaiserliche Truppen unter der Führung Raimondo Graf Montecuccoli in Siebenbürgen (ung. Erdély) ein, um dem Fürsten Johann Kemény (1661–1662) gegen die Osmanen militärische Hilfe zu leisten.³ Dadurch griff Leopold I. ungarischer König und römischer Kaiser (1657/1658–1705) – zumindest aus der Sicht der Hohen Pforte – in die inneren Angelegenheiten der Osmanen ein. Nach dem Tod von Kemény (23. Januar 1662) hatte die habsburgische Regierung das Ziel vor Augen, ihre Macht über Siebenbürgen zu erweitern, zumindest durch die Erhaltung der von den kaiserlichen Soldaten besetzten Festungen.⁴ Leopold I. wollte jedoch aufgrund des Einflusses von Grafen Johann Ferdinand von Porcia, Präsidenten des Geheimen Rates (1658–1665), den offenen Krieg gegen die Pforte vermeiden.⁵ Dank der kaiserlichen Diplomaten, Reniger in Konstantinopel und des dorthin am

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- 2 Über die Verhandlungen siehe: Tóth, H. A vasvári békekötésig vezető út. Oszmán–Habsburg diplomáciai lépések a béke megújítására, 1662–1664. In: Tóth, F., Czigány, B. (Hrsg.) *A szentgotthárdi csata és a vasvári béke. Oszmán terjeszkedés – európai összefogás. / La bataille de Saint-Gotthard et la paix de Vasvár. Expansion ottomane – coopération européenne.* Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont 2017, 319–338 (Tóth 2017a). Über die Dokumenten des Friedensvertrags von Eisenburg siehe: Tóth, H. The circumstances and documents of the Peace of Vasvár. *Archivum Ottomanicum* 34(2017), 243–256 (Tóth 2017b). Über Simon Reniger von Reningen siehe: Cziráki, Zs. Zur Person und Auswahlung des kaiserlichen Residenten in Konstantinopel, Simon Reniger von Renningen (1649–1666). In: Cziráki, Zs., Fundárková, A., Manhercz, O., Peres, Zs., Vajnági M. (Hrsg.) *Wiener Archivforschungen. Festschrift für den ungarischen Archivdelegierten István Fazekas.* (Publikationen der Ungarischen Geschichtsforschung in Wien 10.) Wien: Institut für Ungarische Geschichtsforschung in Wien, Collegium Hungaricum, Ungarische Archivdelegation beim Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv. 2014, 157–164; Cziráki, Zs. Habsburg–oszmán diplomácia a 17. század közepén. Simon Reniger konstantinápolyi Habsburg-rezidens kinevezésének tanúságai (1647–1649). *Századok* 149:4(2015), 835–871.
 - 3 Über die militärischen Ereignisse siehe: Czigány, I. A furcsa háborútól a nagy háborúig, 1661–1664. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 127:4(2014), 892–908.
 - 4 R. Várkonyi, Á. Országgyesítő kísérletek (1648–1664). In: R. Várkonyi, Á. (Hrsg.) *Magyarország története 1526–1686.* Bd. 1. (Magyarország története tíz kötetben 3/2.) Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó 1987, 1092.
 - 5 Am Ende 1660 wurde im Geheimen Rat sowohl über die Verhandlungen mit den Osmanen als auch über die Vorbereitungen auf einen Krieg die Entscheidung getroffen (Czigány 2014: 896–897). Über die Denkschrift der ungarischen Stände für den Kaiser (Januar 1661), in dem sie von ihm eine militärische Aktion verlangten, siehe: R. Várkonyi, Á. *Török világ és magyar külpolitika.* Budapest: Magvető 1975, 17–18.

22. Mai angekommenen Internuntius, Johann Philipp Beris,⁶ konnte ein Waffenstillstand ab 15. Juni 1662 zwischen den zwei Mächten unterzeichnet werden, so nahmen die obgenannten Verhandlungen, die bis zum 10. August 1664 dauerten, ihren Anfang. In der ersten Phase dieser Verhandlungen wurde als Ziel gesetzt, den zwischen den Habsburgern und Osmanen seit 1606 bestandenen und mehrmals erneuerten Frieden wiederherzustellen und zu erneuern.⁷ Der Bedarf an einem neuen

6 Johann Philipp Beris wurde im Frühling 1662 nach Konstantinopel geschickt und der Pascha von Ofen informierte sofort die Pforte über seine Ankunft: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA), Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA), Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 2. fol. 151r. Vgl. Veltzé, H. Die Hauptrelation des kaiserlichen Residenten in Constantinopel Simon Reniger von Reningen 1649–1666. *Mitteilungen des k. (u.) k. Kriegsarchivs*, Neue Folge 12(1900), 123; Horváth, M. *Magyarország történelme*. Bd. 5. Pest: Heckenast Gusztáv 1872, 515. – Beris kam am 22. Mai in Konstantinopel an und einen Tag hernach berichtete sowohl er als auch Reniger dem Hof darüber: ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 2. fol. 157, 162, 163. Vgl. Hammer-Purgstall, J. *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*. Bd. 6. (GOR 6) Pest: Hartleben's Verlag 1830, 106.

7 Mehrere Aufsätze der Mitarbeiter der Forschungsgruppe für Osmanisches Zeitalter beschäftigen sich mit den Friedenserneuerungen nach dem Frieden von Zsitvatorok 1606: Papp, S. Az Oszmán Birodalom, a Magyar Királyság és a Habsburg Monarchia kapcsolattörténete a békekötések tükrében (Vázlat és adatbázis). *Aetas* 33:4(2018), 86–99; Brandl, G., Göncöl, Cs., Juhász, K., Marton, G. E., Szabados, J. Válogatott források az 1627. évi szőnyi békeszerződés történetéhez. *Lymbus. Magyarágtudományi Forrásközlemények* 15(2017), 151–203; Brandl, G., Göncöl, Cs., Juhász, K., Marton, G. E., Szabados, J. Kommunikáció és híráramlás. A Habsburg-oldal tárgyalási stratégiája az 1627. évi szőnyi békekötés során. *Aetas* 33:4(2018), 108–124; Brandl, G., Göncöl, Cs., Juhász, K., Marton, G. E., Szabados, J. Kommunikation und Nachrichtenaustausch – Verhandlungsstrategie der habsburgischen Seite bei der Friedensverhandlung von Szöny 1627. *Chronica* 19(2019), 113–140; Juhász, K. „...gyümölcse pedig semmi nem volt”. Esterházy Miklós véleménye 1642. február 28-án a szőnyi béke(tervezet) pontjairól. *Levéltári Közlemények* 91(2019), 353–366; Juhász, K. Esterházy Dániel és Esterházy Miklós levelei az 1642. évi szőnyi békekötés idején. *Lymbus. Magyarágtudományi Forrásközlemények* 17(2019), 175–204; Juhász, K. A második szőnyi béke margójára. Adalékok az 1642. évi szőnyi békekötés történetéhez. In: J. Újváry, Zs. (Hrsg.) *Hétköznapi az oszmán uralom idején, egyén és közösség viszonya*. Budapest 2020 [im Druck]; Marton, G. E. On the Question of the Negotiations Between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans at Szécsény and Buda (1628) through Palatine Miklós Esterházy's letter to the head of the Hungarian negotiators. *Rocznik Przemyski* 55, *Historia* 22:1(2019), 79–91; Marton, G. E. „Szőnyből tudatjuk.” Három magyar diplomata – Rimay János, Tassy Gáspár és Tholdalagi Mihály követnaplójának összehasonlító elemzése az 1627. évi szőnyi békekötés kapcsán. In: J. Újváry, Zs. (Hrsg.) *Hétköznapi az oszmán uralom idején, egyén és közösség viszonya*. Budapest 2020 [im Druck]; Marton, G. E. Three Hungarian Diplomats' Emissary Diaries. A Comparative Analysis of Emissary Diaries of János Rimay, Gáspár Tassy and Mihály Tholdalagi in the Context of the 1627 Peace Treaty of Szöny. *Prace Historyczne* 2020 [im Druck]. Zum Thema siehe noch: Cervioğlu, M. H. The Peace Treaties of Gyarmat (1625) and Szöny (1627). *Ege ve Balkan Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3:2(2016), 67–86.

Friedensvertrag wurde klar, nachdem das osmanische Heer im April 1663 nach Ungarn aufgebrochen war.⁸

Die Verhandlungen über die Erneuerung des Friedens fanden grundsätzlich an zwei verschiedenen Orten statt. Reniger verhandelte mit dem vom Großvesir Köprülü Ahmed Pascha beauftragten Reis ül-Küttab (Vorsteher der Kanzlei des Divans und als „Minister“ für auswärtige Angelegenheiten), Şamizade Mehmed Efendi, in Konstantinopel.⁹ Als Ergebnis entstand am Ende Juni 1662 ein Konzept, das die folgenden Punkte enthielt:¹⁰ (1) die von kaiserlichen Soldaten eingenommenen Städte und Festungen in Siebenbürgen müssen evakuiert werden und die vorigen Zustände in Siebenbürgen müssen wiederhergestellt werden; (2) die Komitate Sathmar (ung. Szatmár) und Saboltsch (ung. Szabolcs) dürfen des Weiteren im Besitz des Kaisers bleiben und der Pascha von Großwardein (ung. Várad) darf keine Steuer mehr von den Gebieten der Komitate verlangen; (3) der Kaiser werde künftig Ansprüche an den Thron Siebenbürgens weder des Sohns von Georg II. Rákóczi¹¹ noch des von Johann Kemény¹² unterstützen; (4) der Kaiser darf seine Festungen und Städte in den Komitaten Sathmar und Saboltsch fortifizieren, aber es dürfe dort kein Kriegsvolk unter Führung eines Generals gehalten werden; (5) der Kaiser werde nicht eingreifen, falls die Untertanen gegen ihren Fürsten in Siebenbürgen rebellieren würden; (6) der Kaiser werde die Festung Neu-Zrin (ung. Zrínyi-Újvár) demolieren lassen; (7) der Kaiser werde künftig seinen Untertanen alle Streifzüge und Hostilitäten verbieten. Dieses Konzept wurde am Ende Juni von Reniger nach Wien geschickt und alle seiner Punkte befinden sich auch in dem zwei Jahre später unterzeichneten neuen Friedensvertrag.

Leopold I. diskutierte mit den ungarischen Ständen über dieses Dokument im eben verlaufenden Landtag von Pressburg (ung. Pozsony, 1. Mai – 19. September 1662), wo die Ungarn von ihm sowohl das Verhältnis zu der Pforte offen zu regeln, als auch ungarische Abgesandte zu den Verhandlungen zu delegieren verlagten. Diese letztere Forderung wurde im vierten Artikel des Gesetzes vom Jahre 1662

8 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 135. Konv. 1. fol. 87. Vgl. Veltzé 1900: 130. – „es müsse ein neuer Friede aufgerichtet und die Diplomata durch Gross-Botschaften ausgewechselt werden“ (Veltzé 1900: 131; Tóth 2017a: 330).

9 Über das Amt Reis ül-Küttab siehe: Ahıskalı, R. Reisülküttab. In: *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*. Cilt 34. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı. 2007, 546–549.

10 Laut Alfons Huber musste es ein – eventuell Osmanisches – aus sieben Punkten bestehendes Konzept geben, das Reniger zur Einwilligung an seinen Bericht angeschlossen nach Wien schickte. Huber, A. Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen zur Pforte, 1658–1664. *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 85(1898), 56. Vgl. Tóth 2017a: 323. – Die Beilage ‘A’ des Renigers Berichts vom 4. September 1662 ist ein lateinisches Exemplar der Punkte des Friedenskonzepts vom Juni. ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 4. fol. 12r–13v.

11 Franz I. Rákóczi wurde im 1652 als Kind zum Fürsten erwählt, aber er bestieg nie den fürstlichen Thron.

12 Simon Kemény

deklariert,¹³ über deren Realisierung im Licht der späteren Ereignisse nicht die Rede sein konnte. Die Modifikationsvorschläge zum Konzept wurden jedoch mit dem Einverständnis des ungarischen Landtages nach Konstantinopel zurückgeschickt,¹⁴ Reniger erhielt sie am 17. August und er trug sie bereits am 19. in der Audienz bei dem Sultan vor.¹⁵ Die Änderungen und Forderungen des kaiserlichen Hofes machten die Friedenskonditionen bilateral, was vor allem die ersten Punkte betrifft: die Soldaten von beiden Seiten müssen aus dem Gebiet des Fürstentums ausgeschafft werden und von beiden Seiten müssen die Streifzüge verboten werden. Es wurde in Wien akzeptiert, dass es weder dem Sohn Georg II. Rákóczi noch dem von Johann Kemény im Fall ihres Anspruchs auf den Thron geholfen werden würde, aber Leopold forderte Amnestie für die gegen die Pforte rebellierenden Siebenbürger an. Er verlangte außerdem, falls der Fürst Michael I. Apafi (1661–1690) stürbe, würde die Wahl des neuen Fürsten nach den alten Privilegien durchgeführt werden.¹⁶

Die habsburgische Seite forderte wesentliche Änderungen bezüglich zweier Punkte. Der eine war das Problem der Festung Neu-Zrin, welche im westlichen Teil des ungarisch-osmanischen Grenzgebietes aufgebaut wurde. Nikolaus Graf Zrínyi, der Ban von Kroatien (1646–1664), begann den Bau der Festung im Sommer 1661 in der Nachbarschaft von Kanischa (ung. Kanizsa), das damals in osmanischen Händen war.¹⁷ Diese Festung war der Pforte ein Dorn im Auge, weil sie aus strategischer Hinsicht – betreffend die Streifzüge aus den gegen Kanischa wärts liegenden Grenzen – an einem wichtigen Ort lag. Da die Festung ungeachtet des Friedens und Verbotes gebaut wurde, verlangten die Osmanen die Demolierung von Neu-Zrin und

13 Márkus, D. (Hrsg.) *Magyar törvénytár 1000–1895. 1657–1740. évi törvényczikkek. – Corpus juris Hungarici. Millenniumi emlékkiadás.* Bd. 6. (CJH 6) Budapest: Franklin-Társulat 1900, 227.; R. Várkonyi 1987: 1101–1102. Vgl. Az 1638:3. tc. (Márkus, D. (Hrsg.) *Magyar törvénytár 1000–1895. 1608–1657. évi törvényczikkek. – Corpus juris Hungarici. Millenniumi emlékkiadás.* Bd. 5. Budapest: Franklin-Társulat 1900, 373) und 1659:14. tc. (CJH 6, 1900:147). – Über die damaligen Verhältnisse zwischen den ungarischen Ständen und dem kaiserlichen Hof siehe: Pálffy, G. *Mellözött magyarok? Hadikferenciák ülésrendje 1660–1662-ből és 1681-ből. Levéltári Közlemények* 75(2004), 51–56.

14 Das Konzept der Pforte wurde am 25. Juli 1662 dem Landtag vom Kaiser vorgelegt (Szalay 1866: 97, Huber 1898: 53). Dieses Moment wurde später unter den Umständen des Friedensschlusses nicht mehr erwähnt. Vgl. R. Várkonyi 1987: 1138.

15 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 4. fol. 1–2. Vgl. GOR 6, 1830: 107; Huber 1898: 57–58; Veltzé 1900: 125.

16 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 4. fol. 3. Eben dieselben Konditionen befinden sich im Bericht des venezianischen Residenten in Wien, Giovanni Sagredo, den er am 5. August 1662 dem Dogen schickte. Huber 1898: 56–57.

17 Der Bau dieser strittigen Festung wurde von Anbeginn an sowohl vom innerösterreichischen Kriegsrat als auch vom Hof unterstützt: Czigány 2014: 904–905; Toma, K. *Gróf Nádasdy Ferenc országbíró politikusi pályaképe (1655–1666).* Budapest. [Ph.D. Dissertation, Loránd Eötvös Universität] 2005, 134. – Über die Festung Neu-Zrin siehe: Hausner, G., Padányi, J. *Zrínyi-Újvár emlékezete.* Budapest: Argumentum 2012; Hausner, G., Németh, A. *Zrínyi-Újvár. Egy 17. századi védelmi rendszer az oszmán hódoltság határán.* Budapest: Ludovika Egyetemi Kiadó 2019.

sie wollten auf ihren Standpunkt beharren. Laut der Verordnung des kaiserlichen Hofes reichte Reniger die Liste der 39 (oder 40) Festungen und Burgen, die seit dem Frieden von Zsitvatorok (1606) von den Osmanen gebaut oder wiederaufgebaut wurden, bei dem Reis ül-Küttab ein, und er verlangte zugleich die Zerstörung einer gewissen Anzahl der genannten Festungen gegen Demolierung Neu-Zrins.¹⁸

Die andere problematische Stelle betraf sowohl das östliche und nordöstliche Teil des ungarisch-osmanischen Grenzgebietes als auch Siebenbürgen: es war nämlich die Frage der Herrschaft über die Komitate Sathmar und Saboltsch. Diese zwei Komitate – und auch noch fünf andere Komitate in Ober Ungarn – durften für einen bestimmten Zeitraum von den zwei vorigen Fürsten, Gabriel Bethlen (1613–1629) und Georg I. Rákóczi (1630–1648), laut den Verträgen mit den Habsburger Königen, besessen werden.¹⁹ Zuzufolge dem Frieden von Linz (1645) durften die Herrschaft über die zwei Komitate sogar von Nachkommen Georg I. Rákóczis, d. h. Georg II. Rákóczi, geerbt werden. Der Pascha von Großwardein aber besteuerte auch diese Komitate. Das größte Problem löste die Festung Zickelhid (ung. Székelyhid) aus, weil sie früher Großwardein untergeordnet war. Während Großwardein seit 27. August 1660 unter osmanischer Herrschaft stand, garnisonierten in Zickelhid auch im Weiteren kaiserliche Soldaten. Leopold begehrte die Festung wegen ihrer strategischen Lage zu behalten, die Osmanen wollten aber sie von ihm wegnehmen, die Siebenbürger beabsichtigten sie auch wieder zu besitzen.

Die zwei verschiedenen Verhandlungsorte benötigte man eigentlich wegen der Komitate Sathmar und Saboltsch (die osmanische Besteuerung deren Gebiete, die Zugehörigkeit der Festungen und der dort wohnenden Heiducken, die Anwesenheit kaiserlicher Soldaten) und wegen Zickelhid. Das eigentliche Ziel der kaiserlichen Diplomatie war, dass die Osmanen ihre Herrschaft über diese Festung akzeptieren.

¹⁸ ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 3. fol. 12r.; Konv. 4. fol. 7r. Vgl. Veltzé 1900: 125. – Unter den von den Osmanen gebauten Festungen benannte Reniger auch Berkigát, diese Palisade wurde nämlich im Jahre 1655 von Osmanen gebaut (oder aber wiederaufgebaut) und sie wurde im Februar 1660 von den Soldaten des Obristen der gegen Kanischawärts liegenden Grenzen, Christoph Batthyány II. (1637–1687), eingenommen und zugleich auch demoliert. Der kaiserliche Hof bot in demselben Jahr der Pforte an, die Palisade wiederaufbauen zu dürfen, aber es fand bis Sommer 1661 nicht statt. Papp, S. Egy ismeretlen dél-dunántúli török palánk: Berkigát. In: Kovács, Gy., Gerelyes, I. (Hrsg.) *A hódoltság régészeti kutatása. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban 2000. május 24–26. között megtartott konferencia előadásai.* (Opuscula Hungarica 3.) Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum 2002, 129–136. – Laut Ágnes R. Várkonyi unterzeichnete der Kaiser während des Landtags von Pressburg seinen Befehl über die Demolierung Neu-Zrins (R. Várkonyi 1987: 1100).

¹⁹ Zuzufolge des am 31. Dezember 1621 von Ferdinand II. (1619–1637) und Gabriel Bethlen geschlossenen Friedens von Nikolsburg gab der König sieben Komitate (Abaúj/Abau, Borsod/Borschod, Zemplén/Semplin, Bereg/Berg, Ugocsa/Ugotsch, Saboltsch, Sathmar) dem Fürsten bis zu seinem Tod über, aber sie gehörten in der Tat nicht zum Fürstentum Siebenbürgen. Laut des am 16. Dezember 1645 von Ferdinand III. (1637–1657) und Georg I. Rákóczi geschlossenen Friedens von Linz wurden die Komitate nach gleichen Konditionen Rákóczi übergeben.

Inzwischen proklamierte der Fürst Apafi, dass Zickelhid zu Siebenbürgen gehöre, er beanspruchte sogar die Festung, und die Pforte unterstützte ihn natürlich auch dabei. Laut Reniger wollten die Osmanen die Festung belagern und sie wollten sie dem Fürsten Apafi auf keinen Preis verlassen. Der Resident behauptete, man hätte mit dem Fürsten über die Übergabe von Zickelhid vereinbaren können, aber Reniger hielt es für unmöglich, die Festung wegen ihrer Nähe zu Großwardein künftig behalten zu können. Noch dazu wollte der Reis ül-Küttab mit ihm über diese Frage auf keinen Fall verhandeln.²⁰

Um diese Fragen gründlicher zu untersuchen, wollte man Kommissionen aufstellen: von der Pforte wurde deswegen Ali Pascha von Temeschwar (ung. Temesvár) mit den Verhandlungen beauftragt, und vom kaiserlichen Hof wurde zuerst Philipp Johann Beris von Konstantinopel nach Temeschwar abgeordnet.²¹ Beris kam am 19. Juni in Griechischweissenburg (ung. Nándorfehérvár, Belgrad) an, von dort schickte er einen Bericht nach Wien, in dem er den Hof um ein Akkreditiv für die Verhandlungen und Geschenke für den Pascha bat.²² Am 17. Juli erhielt Reniger die Nachricht, dass Beris krank wäre und er wollte entweder nach Ofen (ung. Buda) oder nach Wien fahren. Danach ersuchte Ali Pascha die Pforte um Erlaubnis für Beris Reise. Reniger hielt es ebenso nicht für notwendig, dass Beris nach Temeschwar reisen sollte.²³ Der Diplomat erreichte aber inzwischen am 16. Juli den Verhandlungsort und er wurde am 18. von Ali Pascha willkommen geheißen.²⁴ Beris hatte jedoch keine Beglaubigung, über die streitige Festungen (darunter Zickelhid) und über die Demolierung von Neu-Zrin zu verhandeln. In erster Linie bat er den Pascha darum, den Waffenstillstand auch im Weiteren zu halten. Nachdem Beris in der Audienz am 27. Juli erklärt hatte, dass das Abkommen an der Pforte zustande kommen sollte, bekam der Pascha einen Wutanfall und er wollte den Internuntius einfach wegschicken, aber der Diplomat musste laut ihrem

20 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 3. fol. 17r–v, 20r–v. Vgl. „ich versicherte aber Euer Majestät, dass Szekelyhid nichts Guetes verursachen werde, wie hernach in der That geschehen“ (Veltzé 1900: 125).

21 GOR 6. 1830: 107; Horváth 1872: 515; Huber 1898: 54.

22 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 3. fol. 52r. Der Kurier kam am 12. Juli in Griechischweissenburg in Begleitung des Dolmetschers François (*Franz*) Mesgnien de Meninski und mit Geschenken an. Ebd. fol. 100r.

23 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 3. fol. 66v–67r. – Beris selbst schrieb in seinem Bericht vom 4. August über seine Krankheit, davon er sich erholt hat, inzwischen wurde er aber schon wieder krank. Er bat deswegen den Kaiser darum, entweder nach Komorn (ung. Komárom) oder nach Raab (ung. Győr) zu fahren und dort sich ärztlich behandeln zu lassen. Ebd. fol. 150r–v.

24 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 3. fol. 100r–v. – Reniger wurde erst am Anfang August darüber informiert, dass Beris in Temeschwar angekommen war. ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 3. fol. 123r.

Auftrag bis weiteren Anordnungen in Temeschwar bleiben.²⁵ Beris berichtete am 13. August darüber, dass der Pascha mit der entstandenen Situation unzufrieden war – die zwei Mächte schienen nämlich miteinander nicht zu einer Übereinstimmung zu kommen –, und er musste schon seit langem mit seinen Truppen bei Temeschwar untätig warten. Zur gleichen Zeit war ein Kurier auf dem Weg nach Konstantinopel mit der kaiserlichen Resolution über das Friedenskonzept.²⁶

Reniger erhielt die Antwort des Kaisers am 17. August und zwar falls die Punkte des Konzepts mit Leopolds Änderungen an der Pforte akzeptiert werden würden, hätte der Resident den Vertrag unterschreiben können.²⁷ Nach mehrmaligen Verhandlungen im Divan wurde ein – aus acht Punkten bestehendes und von der Pforte für endgültig betrachtetes – Konzept zusammengestellt, aber Reniger wollte das Dokument ohne Einwilligung des Hofes nicht unterschreiben, deswegen schickte er es eher zusammen mit seinem Bericht vom 4. September nach Wien.²⁸ Aus diesem Konzept wurde klar, dass die Osmanen die bilateralen Vorschläge des kaiserlichen Hofes akzeptierten: die Truppen von beiden Seiten werden künftig aus dem Gebiet des Fürstentums Siebenbürgen abgezogen werden, die Streifzüge und alle Feindseligkeiten werden von beiden Seiten verboten und bestraft werden. Der vorige Zustand des Fürstentums Siebenbürgen werde wiederhergestellt werden und die Wahl eines neuen Fürsten solle nach den alten Verträgen (osm. ahdname) durchgeführt werden. An der Pforte wurde es auch akzeptiert: insoweit die rebellierenden Siebenbürger den Treueid dem Fürsten Apafi ablegen würden, dürfen sie an ihre früheren Wohnorte zurückkehren, ihre Güter und Würden zurückbekommen. Im Fall der sich in den Komitaten Saboltsch und Sathmar befindenden Festungen – Sathmar (ung. Szatmár), Groß-Karol (ung. Károly oder Nagykároly), Kálló (oder Nagykálló), Ecsed (oder Nagyecsed) und Zickelhid – wäre man bereit, die Vorschläge des kaiserlichen Hofes zu akzeptieren, aber man hielt es für notwendig zu untersuchen, ob diese Festungen tatsächlich in den obgenannten Komitaten wären und ob sie auch bis dahin zu denen gehört hätten. Zur Untersuchung dieser Frage wurde Ali Pascha von Temeschwar Befugnis erteilt.²⁹ Die Osmanen akzeptierten, dass der Kaiser über die in den vorbezeichneten Komitaten wohnenden freien Heiducken verfügen darf, sie forderten jedoch weiterhin die Demolierung der Festung Neu-Zrin, aber sie wollten von Zerstörung

25 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 3. fol. 100v–102v, 136v–137v. Vgl. Wagner, F. *Historia Leopoldi Magni Caesaris Augusti*. Augustae Vindelicorum: Georgii Schlüter, Martini Happach 1719, 107–108.; Huber 1898: 55.

26 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 3. fol. 110r–118r.

27 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 4. fol. 1v.

28 Den italienischen Text des Konzepts siehe: ÖStA HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 4. fol. 14r–v, 17r–v. Vgl. Huber 1898: 59–60.

29 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 4. fol. 6r, 10v. Vgl. Ebd. fol. 28r–v.

einer ihrer Festungen nichts wissen.³⁰ Auf diplomatischem Gebiet entstand eigentlich nur Neu-Zrind und Zickelhid betreffend keine für den kaiserlichen Hof akzeptierbare und beruhigende Vereinbarung. Im Fall der ersterwähnten Festung forderten die Osmanen die bedingungslose Demolierung der Festung. Was aber Zickelhid betrifft, regten sie weitere Untersuchungen an.

Am 4. September wurde ein Kurier zu Ali Pascha geschickt,³¹ woraufhin Ali einerseits seinen Tschausch nach Wien sandte, damit von dort eine Person nach Temeschwar delegiert würde, die zu den Verhandlungen und für die Unterzeichnung eines Vertrages bevollmächtigt wäre; andererseits schickte er seine Stellungnahme zu den strittigen Festungen an die Pforte.³² Laut dieser Stellungnahme hätte Zickelhid in der Zeit der Oberhauptmannschaft von Franz Rhédey zu Großwardein gehört, und weil die Osmanen 1660 „das Tor nach Siebenbürgen“ eingenommen hatten, würden sie auch Anspruch auf Zickelhid als eine ihm untergeordnete Festung erheben. Groß-Karol und Kálló hätten seit der Eroberung von Erlau (ung. Eger, 1596) den Osmanen Steuern bezahlt, deshalb dürfen sie nicht im Besitz des Kaisers bleiben.³³ Im Gegensatz zu der an den Pascha schnell angekommenen Antwort, erhielt Reniger drei Monate lang keine Informationen vom Wiener Hof.³⁴ Im Dezember wurde er sogar darüber berichtet, dass der kaiserliche Internuntius, Johann Freiherr von Goess, nach Temeschwar geschickt werde, um dort weitere Verhandlungen zu führen.³⁵ Im Januar sprach Goess mit Ali Pascha eigentlich alle Punkten des im August angefertigten Konzepts durch.³⁶ Der Pascha als Bevollmächtigter fügte fast allen Punkten etwas hinzu und er stritt sich um fast alle Punkte mit dem Internuntius. Er kam mehrmals auf die Frage der Zugehörigkeit der Heiducken zurück, die eines der größten Probleme auslöste, und er wollte nicht verstehen, dass der Kaiser die Hoheit ausschließlicly über die in den Komitaten Sathmar und Saboltsch wohnenden Heiducken begehrte. Dieser Anspruch wurde zudem an der Pforte bereits akzeptiert. Ein noch größeres Problem war es für die kaiserlichen

30 Die Frage wurde am 25. August im Divan verhandelt. ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 4. fol. 9r.

31 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 4. fol. 28r.

32 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 135. Konv. 1. fol. 37r.

33 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 4. fol. 79r.

34 Huber 1898: 60–63.; Veltzé 1900: 126.

35 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 135. Konv. 1. fol. 5. Vgl. Wagner 1719: 108–109.; Horváth 1872: 515–516.; Veltzé 1900: 126. – Am 19. Dezember schickte Goess seinen Bericht schon von Ofen nach Wien. ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 4. fol. 134r–v.

36 Über diese Verhandlungen siehe: ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 135. Konv. 1. fol. 37r–64v.

Diplomaten, dass Leopold auf die Festung Zickelhid nicht verzichten wollte.³⁷ Goess und Beris – anhand ihrer Berichten – konnten Ali Pascha nach mehrmaligen Versuchen weder mit rechtlichen Argumenten, noch mit Erpressung (falls die Osmanen die Festung Großwardein dem Fürsten von Siebenbürgen übergeben würden, würde auch der Kaiser Zickelhid Apafi überlassen), noch mit Geld (sie boten nämlich dem Pascha 2000 Dukaten an) von den kaiserlichen Absichten überzeugen.³⁸ Am Ende Januar berichtete Ali Pascha der Pforte über die Verhandlungen und er referierte natürlich daneben auch über den Bestechungsversuch der kaiserlichen Diplomaten.³⁹

Anschließend machte der Großvesir Reniger darauf aufmerksam, falls der Kaiser den Frieden nicht erhalten wollte, wären die Osmanen bereit, bis Griechischweissenburg zu marschieren.⁴⁰ Die Vorbereitungen für einen Feldzug wurden auch für Goess und Beris offenbar, und damit sie den Ausbruch eines Kriegs verhindern können, schlugen sie als Kompromiss vor, Zickelhid zu demolieren.⁴¹ Reniger wurde in der am 17. April erhaltenen Instruktion des Hofs vom 16. März darüber informiert, insoweit die Festung Szentjobb von den Osmanen demoliert würde, wäre der Kaiser bereit zur Zerstörung der Festung Zickelhid.⁴² Der Großvesir wollte aber von der vom Kaiser Leopold vorgeschlagenen Kondition nichts wissen, sondern er betonte eher die Notwendigkeit eines neuen Friedensvertrags.⁴³ Es schien nicht mehr möglich zu sein, den neuen Feldzug nach Ungarn aufzuhalten.⁴⁴

37 Laut Ali Paschas Stellungnahme wären Groß-Karol und Kálló seit langem von Osmanen als Zeamet (osm. ziamet) registriert worden, so wurden diese Festungen und Städte aus dem Text des Friedenskonzepts entfernt, wie auch Ecsed, das der Besitz der Familie Rákóczi war. ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 4. fol. 79–81, 86. Vgl. Ebd. Kt. 135. Konv. 1. fol. 43v–44r, 53r, 60r.; Huber 1898: 62.

38 Szalay erwähnte auch, dass Verhandlungen am Anfang 1663 in Temeschwar stattgefunden hätten und die kaiserlichen Kommissare dem Pascha für Zickelhid alles versprochen hätten (Szalay 1866: 73). Vgl. Wagner 1719: 107. – Über die Verhandlungen in Temeschwar siehe: Tóth, H. Vasvár előtti. Habsburg–oszmán megegyezési kísérlet Temesváron 1663-ban. *Aetas* 35:3(2020) [im Druck].

39 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 135. Konv. 1. fol. 68. Vgl. Veltzé 1900: 127.

40 Vgl. Veltzé 1900: 127.

41 Die Osmanen schlugen die Demolierung der Festung bereits im Januar vor. ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 135. Konv. 1. fol. 56v.

42 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 135. Konv. 2. fol. 88v. – Szentjobb wurde am 21. Februar 1661 von Osmanen eingenommen. ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 133. Konv. 1. fol. 85r. Über die Möglichkeit der Zerstörung von Szentjobb schrieb Reniger schon in seinem Bericht vom 16. Februar 1662. Ebd. Kt. 135. Konv. 1. fol. 67–76.

43 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 135. Konv. 1. fol. 87. Vgl.: „es müsse ein neuer Friede aufgerichtet und die Diplomata durch Gross-Botschaften ausgewechselt werden“ (Veltzé 1900: 131).

44 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 135. Konv. 1. fol. 71. Vgl. Veltzé 1900: 128.

Unter den Blättern des Berichtes von Goess und Beris vom 31. Januar befindet sich ein Konzept eines in Osmanisch verfassten Schriftstücks⁴⁵ und auf dieses Dokument sind es interessanterweise keine Hinweise in ihren Berichten aufzufinden. Anhand des Inhalts scheint dieser Text dem – aus acht Punkten bestehenden, vom Ende August 1662 datierten und von der Pforte für endgültig betrachteten – Konzept gleich zu sein. Eine auf Italienisch verfasste Kopie des letzterwähnten Dokuments befindet sich in der Beilage des Berichtes des Residenten vom 4. September,⁴⁶ während eine andere – ebenso auf Italienisch angefertigte – Kopie unter den Blättern des Berichtes von Goess und Beris vom 31. Januar liegt.⁴⁷ Sowohl der osmanische als auch der italienische Text befasst sich mit der Frage der Heiducken, was das im Juni hergestellte Konzept noch nicht enthielt. Daneben waren im Text die strittigen Festungen angegeben, die später außer Zickelhid aus dem Text entfernt wurden. Aus dem Bericht von Goess und Beris vom 27. Januar wird bekannt, dass die Punkte des im August angefertigten Konzepts, dessen Text der Pascha aus dem Lateinischen ins Osmanische übersetzen ließ, mit Ali Pascha durchgesprochen worden wären.⁴⁸ Es kann wohl sein, dass das folgende Dokument eine Kopie der erwähnten Übersetzung ist. Es wurde in den Berichten kein Dolmetscher im Dienste von Ali Pascha erwähnt, im Fall von Goess aber schon mehrmals. Laut der Textgestaltung und der Schriftbild scheint der Autor des Dokuments europäischer Abstammung gewesen zu sein. Nach unserem heutigen Kenntnisstand kann aber der Übersetzer nicht genau indentifiziert werden. Auf der Außenseite des dieses Dokument enthaltenden Faszikels kann man lesen, dass sich das von der Pforte revidierte Konzept in diesem Faszikel befinde und es werde die von Michel d’Asquier, kaiserlichem Hofdolmetscher (1625–1663), angefertigte Übersetzung verlangt.⁴⁹ Abgesehen von dem bisher unbekannten Verfasser, dient das Manuskript als wertvoller Beitrag zu den Verhandlungen und Dokumenten des Friedens von Eisenburg 1664. Es ist möglich und wäre auch nötig, dieses Konzept hinsichtlich der Terminologie und Grammatik mit den späteren osmanischen Friedenstexten zu vergleichen.

45 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 135. Konv. 1. fol. 94r–v.

46 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 4. fol. 14r–v, 17r–v.

47 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 135. Konv. 1. fol. 141r–142r.

48 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 135. Konv. 1. fol. 51v.

49 ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 135. Konv. 1. fol. 145v.

Appendix

Eine auf Osmanisch verfasste Kopie des Friedenskonzepts vom August 1662

ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 135. Konv. 1. fol. 94r–v.

čün-ki muqaddemā Erdelde⁵⁰ vāqīc olan harekāt sebebiyle baʿž-i münāzaʿat zuhūr etmişdür tārīh-i ʿİsāda 1649 senesinde⁵¹ yigirmi iki bucuq yıla degin turağaq şulh u şalāh⁵² ibqā vu muqarrer olunub ğümle māddelelerinde qavī ve muhkem durur imdi mezkūr şulh u şalāh bālāda zıkr olunan harekāt sebebiyle muhtell olmasun dēyü iki tarafıñ rızā vu ittifāqıyla bu māddelelere qarār vērilmışdürki zıkr olunur

evvelki mādde içinde devletlü čāsāruñ halqı olan Erdel şehirleri ve qalʿeleri Erdel hākimine ve aḥālısına girü vēriyle lākin evvelā iki tarafuñ ʿaskeri mezkūr Erdelden bir zamānda berāber çıqub mevzi-ye mezbūrlar ve sāyir her ne ise Erdelden qadīm ve āsūde hālde dura ve vilāyet-i mezbūre hākimsiz qalduğı taqdīrde mezbūr Erdelüñ aḥālısı qadīm-i ʿahd-nāme-i hümāyūnlar müğebingē⁵³ kendü mābeynlerinde ve kendü irādetleriyle bir kişiyi bulub ihtiyār etmege qādir olalar-ki ol anlaruñ hākimi ola ve her huşuşda qadīmden olıgeldügi minvāl üzere irādetleriyle emn u rāhatda olalar

ikinği mādde devletlü čāsāruñ Saqmār⁵⁴ ve Zābölč⁵⁵ nām iki vilāyeti ve sāyir vilāyetleri ve ğümle memleketleri aḥālileriyle ve reʿāyālarıyla şehirleriyle qalʿeleriyle palanqalarıyla köyleriyle ve sāyir bi-l-ğümle mūteʿalliqātıyla ve ʿale-l-huşuş Saqmār ve Zābölč iki vilāyetinde olan ve qadīmden devletlü čāsāra tābʿi olan

50 Siebenbürgen, ung. Erdély, rum. Transilvania oder Ardeal, heute in Rumänien.

51 Das Jahr wurde nach der christlichen Chronologie geschrieben.

52 Der Großvesir Kara Murad Pascha und der kaiserliche Internuntius, Johann Rudolf Schmid von Schwarzenhorn schlossen am Juli 1649 in Konstantinopel die Wiedererneuerung des Friedens von Zsitvatorok ab. Hammer-Purgstall, J. *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*. Bd. 5. Pest: Hartleben's Verlag 1829, 493; Papp, S. Egy Habsburg-követ, Simon Reniger oszmán kapcsolathálózata Konstantinápolyban. Vezírek, muftik, magyar renegátok. *Aetas* 31:3(2016), 45–46; Tóth, H. Mennyit ér egy magyar lovas hadnagy? Egy rabkiváltás története diplomáciatörténeti kontextusban a 17. század közepéről. *Századok* 152:1(2018), 254–255. – Zum Thema siehe die Finalrelation von Schmid: ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 121. Konv. 2. fol 112–194.

53 Die Verhandlungen von Reniger über diese Frage siehe: ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 4. fol. 4r, 8v–9r. Vgl. mit den Verhandlungen in Temeschwar: Ebd. Kt. 135. Konv. 1. fol. 49v–51r, 129v, 137r.

54 Das Komitat Sathmar (rum. Satu Mare), heute in Rumänien und in Ungarn.

55 Das Komitat Saboltsch, heute in Ungarn.

ḥaydūdšāğlar[!]⁵⁶ ile ve bunların vārōš ve qaşabalarıyla ‘Osmānlu tarafından veya Erdellülerden veyāḥūd anların ḥākimlerinden ve sāyir kimesneden hiç bir veğh ve behāne ile taleb-i ğizye ve da‘vet-i tekālīf ile renğide olunmayub ve bu maqūle da‘vet u taleb bu ana degin olmış ise def‘ ü ref‘ olub šimden girü anlardan hiç bir şey taleb olunmaya⁵⁷

üçüñgü mādde Rāqōčī oğlı⁵⁸ ve ke-zālike Qemīn Yānōš oğlı⁵⁹ ve sāyir Orta Mağardan⁶⁰ zabt oluna ki imdād ‘askeriyle Erdele girü gelüb yeñiden [v] ḥarekāt nahimvāraya bā‘iş olmayalar ve bunun emşālī ‘Osmānlu ve Erdellü tarafından devletlū čāsāruñ vilāyet ve memāligi ḥaqqında ri‘āyet oluna

dördüñgü mādde devletlū čāsār kendü memāliginiñ emn ü amānı içün sāyir serḥaddlarda bu ana dek olıgelen ‘ādet üzere mezkūr iki vilāyetinde ve ol ḥudūdlerde olan šehirler ve qal‘eler ‘ale-l-ḥuṣūš Saqmār⁶¹ ve Qāröl⁶² ve Qālō⁶³ ve Ečed⁶⁴ ve Sākelhīd⁶⁵ ve sāyir iqtizā‘ edüb murād ētdügi mevzi‘lerinüñ muḥāfazası içün içlerine ādem qoya lākin serdārıyla ‘asker qonlamaya ve ‘Osmānlu ve Erdellü serḥadlarında ke-zālike ri‘āyet oluna⁶⁶

beşinğü mādde ehl-i fesād olanlara ve iki ulu pādīšāhuñ dūšmānlarına ḥimāyet u mu‘āvenet eylemek ğāiz olmaya

56 Dieses Wort ist die osmanische Pluralform des ungarischen Wort ‘hajdúság’, stattdessen wäre ‘ḥaydūdlar’ die korrekte Schreibweise.

57 Über die in Konstantinopel verlaufende Debatte über diese Frage siehe: ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 4. fol. 4v–5v, 10v. Vgl. mit den Verhandlungen in Temeschwar: Ebd. Kt. 135. Konv. 1. fol. 41r–44r.

58 Der Sohn von Georg II. Rákóczi, Franz I. Rákóczi

59 Der Sohn von Johann Kemény, Simon Kemény

60 Der Ausdruck Orta Macar erschien schon in den 1630er Jahren in osmanischen Quellen, damals bedeutete er die sich im Besitz von Gabriel Bethlen befindenen sieben Komitate in Ober Ungarn. Es sind natürlich mit der Zeit Bedeutungswandel hinsichtlich dieses Ausdrucks geschehen. Laut der allgemein anerkannten Meinung bezieht er auf das Gebiet zwischen den bergstädterischen Grenzen und Siebenbürgen, und dieser Begriff wurde auch für die Benennung der dortigen Bewohner benutzt. Dies scheint wohl die Gebietsbetrachtung aus osmanischer Sicht zu widerspiegeln. Im letzten Drittel des 17. Jahrhunderts wurde Thökölys Fürstentum in Ober Ungarn mit diesem Begriff definiert. Tóth, H. *A Kanizsával szembeni végvidék Gyöngyösi Nagy Ferenc vicegenerális levelezése tükrében (1683–1690)*. Szeged: SZTE BTK Történelemtudományi Doktori Iskola 2013, 71. Fußnote 389.

61 Die Festung Sathmar, heute ung. Szatmárnémeti, rum. Satu Mare, eine Stadt in Rumänien.

62 Die Festung Großkarol, ung. Nagykároly, rum. Carei, heute eine Stadt in Rumänien.

63 Kálló, Nagykálló, heute eine ungarische Stadt in der Komitat Saboltsch-Sathmar-Berg.

64 Ecsed, Nagyecsed, heute eine ungarische Stadt in der Komitat Saboltsch-Sathmar-Berg.

65 Zickelhid, ung. Székelyhid, rum. Săcueni, heute eine Stadt in Rumänien.

66 Über die Verhandlungen in Temeschwar über die Zugehörigkeit der Festungen siehe: ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 4. fol. 6r, 10v.

altıncı mādde bu harekāt sebebiyle Qanıža⁶⁷ qurbında yeñiden binā olunan qale⁶⁸ yıqıla⁶⁹

yedingi mādde şimden girü iki tarafdan ʿadāvet defʿ olub čete gezilmeye muhālefet edenlerüñ haqqlarından muhkem geline ve bi-l-ğümle iki tarafuñ halqı zabt oluna şulh u şalāh bālāda zıkr olunan eñ soñraki bārisıgıñ şerāi māddelele müğebingē qavī dursun iki tarafuñ ʿaskerle Mağār ve Erdel sınırlarından qaldurılıb girü gönderilmeyeler takim āzarda olan reʿāyā ve berāyā kemāl mertebe emn ve rāhat üzere olalar

sekizingi mādde āher her ol kimesneler ki zıkr olunan Erdel ihtilāli eşnāsında iki tarafuñ birisine sığınub yapışmışlar ise ol kimselerüñ mālaları mülkleri haqqları ve mürettebleri kendülerine girü vēriyle ve anlar ol sebeb için rengīde olmayalar ve kendü hākimlerine muṭīʿ olub vilāyetinüñ zarar ve ziyānına sebeb olmayalar

67 Kanizsa, Nagykanizsa, heute eine Stadt in Ungarn.

68 Neu-Zrin, ung. Zrínyi-Újvár. Vgl. mit der 18. Fußnote.

69 Über die Verhandlungen in Konstantinopel über die Festung Neu-Zrin siehe: ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 134. Konv. 4. fol. 6v–7v. Vgl. mit der Verhandlungen in Temeschwar: ÖStA, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Kt. 135. Kt. 1. fol. 45r.

Московский *Чаган хан*

Вадим Трепавлов

Анонимное тюркское сочинение конца XVII в. «Дафтар-и Чингиз-наме» (Книга о Чингисхане) содержит «Главу повести о местопребываниях и владениях», где в кратком перечне владений и их правителей упоминаются реальные и легендарные, конкретные и собирательные персонажи. В частности, там имеется фраза *Mäskäw Čagan Hān-nīng yurti-dur* (Ivanics, Usmanov 2002: 90) (Москва была юртом Чаган-хана). Сопряженность *чаган хана* с Москвой в «Дафтар-и Чингиз-наме» позволяет отождествить его с русским *белым царем*, что уже отмечалось в историографии (Исянгулов 2015: 26, 172; Ivanics 2017: 259).

Похожее утверждение содержится в «башкирской родословной хронике» (*шежере*), переведенной и опубликованной в конце XIX в. оренбургским краеведом Д.Н. Соколовым: «У бухаров был тогда Буляр... в Москве – Саган» (Соколов 1898: 48). Очевидно, тот же текст в несколько иной редакции цитировался другим местным историком, П.К. Назаровым: «У Бухаров был тогда хан Буляр... в Москве – Саган» (Назаров 1890: 167).¹ Варианты данной «Главы повести...», зафиксированные в разных регионах тюркского мира, не совпадают в некоторых деталях, в том числе, в упоминании Чаган-хана. Есть версии, где Чаган-хан и Москва вообще не упоминаются (Klaproth 1814: 239); или младшим братом (*ини*) Чаган-хана оказывается владелец «Ак Тюбе» Бачман (Дәфтәре 2000: 37), иногда отождествляемый с кипчаком, сражавшимся с монголами в XIII в.; или «Чахан-хану» приписывают владение местностью, которая в прочих версиях памятника связана с другими персонажами (Исянгулов 2015: 171).

В обоих случаях используется старинная (для XVII–XIX вв.), книжная, литературная форма слова «белый»: *чаган*, тогда как в позднейшем (и современном) монгольском языке утвердилось произношение *цагаан*. Буряты говорят именно *сагаан*, но едва ли эта языковая норма отразилась в публикациях Назарова и Соколова – в имени хана Саган; скорее здесь

¹ «Буляр» здесь – это искаженное «Булгар», а «Булгар», упоминаемый в аналогичном контексте в «Дафтар-и Чингиз-наме» (Ivanics, Usmanov 2002: 89: *Buḡara Bulḡar ḡanī-nīng yurti-dur* – Бухара была юртом Булгар-хана), – это, в свою очередь, искаженное имя «узбекского» хана XV в. Абу-л-Хайра (Усманов 1972: 116).

искажение первоначального *Чаган*.² Первого публикатора данный сюжет не заинтересовал, а Соколов рассуждал так: хан Саган сопоставим с *цаган ханом* («белым царем»), монгольским прозвищем русского государя. В башкирском тексте должен был бы стоять *ак хан*, но в конце XIV в. (когда, по мнению Соколова, происходили описываемые в «родословной хронике» события) «монголы еще господствовали в Кипчакской орде. Если признать такое объяснение, то надо заключить, что “Белый царь” в русских песнях и народной речи есть название, заимствованное русскими у восточных народов, а не наоборот, так как в XIV веке московские государи еще не назывались царями» (Соколов 1898: 62–63). Но нагромождение анахронизмов и вымышленных деталей не позволяет с доверием отнестись к информации цитируемого башкирского шежере. Сходный текст «Дафтар-и Чингиз-наме» показывает, какая разновременная смесь событий и героев представлялась неизвестному автору этого сочинения. Поэтому нет оснований опираться на них при датировке упоминаемых там реалий.

В некоторых тюркоязычных документах для обозначения московского правителя адресанты использовали клишированное словосочетание «белый царь» в монгольском варианте *чаган хан*, вместо ожидаемого тюркского *ак хан*. Так, в 1703 г. бухарский хан Убейдулла обратился к Петру I как к «охраняющему государство, обладающему полнотой власти, воинственному и доблестному Чаган хану» (в оригинале – *чаган ханка*) (Самойлович 1932: 276, 449). Это обозначение явно поставлено на том же месте, где в синхронных посланиях других среднеазиатских владык стоит тюркское *ак хан* (Трепавлов 2017: 24, 25). Вероятно, сотрудники московского внешнеполитического ведомства (Посольского приказа) не поняли монгольского слова и оставили его без перевода.

Применение к русскому царю дефиниции «белый» обычно для восточных адресантов. Однако, как справедливо отметила М. Иванич, помещение его и Москвы в один ряд с ханами-Чингисидами и их владениями свидетельствует о рудиментах искусственной легитимации российских правителей, которая появилась в середине XVI в. (Ivanics 2017: 62). В данном случае можно предполагать отголосок приписывания российским монархам родства с «золотым родом» Чингисхана. Зародившись в Ногайской Орде по отношению к царю Ивану IV (а в Крымском ханстве – по отношению к польско-литовскому королю Сигизмунду I) (Мустакимов, Трепавлов 2013), эта генеалогическая фантазмагория не получила широкого распространения в среде тюркских элит, а в России вообще была проигнорирована. Однако она, очевидно, продолжала существовать в измененном виде на периферии политической культуры и общественного сознания.

2 М. Иванич предполагает заимствование из калмыцкого языка (Ivanics 2017: 175) (совр. калмыц. *цаһан*).

Причудливое переплетение легендарных, вымышленных и реальных событий и персонажей в позднесредневековом восточном летописании порой давало неожиданные результаты. Например, ученый монгольский лама Лубсан Данзан, автор «Алтан тобчи» (середина – вторая половина XVII в.), утверждал, будто «Потомок Чагатая был русским белым царем». Далее хронист приводит такие фантастические подробности биографии Чагатая, как то, что он замыслил недоброе против своего отца и был отравлен (Лубсан Данзан 1973: 293). Здесь явно смешались сведения о разных лицах. Во-первых, это второй сын Чингисхана Чагатай, не имевший никакого отношения к Руси. Во-вторых, это современник Лубсан Данзана русский *чаган-хан* («белый царь»). Наконец, это старший Чагатаев брат Джучи, который, по некоторым сведениям, действительно был заподозрен в заговоре против отца и убит по его приказу; именно потомки Джучи во второй половине XIII–XV вв. являлись верховными сюзеренами для русских князей.

Никакой связи, кроме созвучия имени и титула, не обнаруживается, отчего ясно, что монгольский хронист произвольно этимологизировал титул *чаган-хан*, возведя его к похожему имени Чагатая. К тому времени среди монголов историческая память о старших Чингисовых сыновьях, Джучи и Чагатае, отличалась чрезвычайной отрывочностью и нагромождением несообразностей. Получив уделы на западе империи, эти царевицы отделились от родных монгольских кочевий, их потомки остались в дальних странах, и на бывшей родине о них имели весьма смутные представления.

То же можно сказать о тюркской историографии того периода. В «Дафтар-и Чингиз-наме» говорится, что четвертый сын Чингисхана Тулай-Толуй получил от отца в удел «Московскую орду» (*Mäskāw ordası*) (Ivanics, Usmanov 2002: 62). В данном случае мы сталкиваемся с аналогичной ситуацией, но на западе бывшей Монгольской империи: Толуй управлял Монголией («Коренным юртом») и для западных улусов являлся малознакомым историческим персонажем. Чагатаю же (Jaday) в данном памятнике отведена роль правителя Индии – Хиндустана (Ivanics, Usmanov 2002: 62).³

3 Среди пожалованных Чингис-ханом Чагатаю земель Хиндустан упоминается также в анонимном источнике начала XVI в. «Таварих-и гузида-йи нусрат-наме» (Акрамов 1967: 107 (араб. паг.); Мустакимов 2013: 240). В действительности власть Чагатая и Чагатаидов никогда не простиралась до Индостана. Возможно, здесь отразились сведения о монгольских вторжениях в Кашмир. Завоевание этой страны произошло в 1253 г., когда военачальник Сали-нойон, посланный кааном Мункэ, занял ее столицу Сринагар и назначил туда вассального правителя. После распада Монгольской империи эта страна оказалась в составе государства ильханов (Монгольского Ирана) (Коган 2012: 92–112; Jahn 1956: 75–80). Кроме того, представители индийской династии Великих Моголов считали своего предка Тимура и, соответственно, Тимуридов законными наследниками Чагатая. Не случайно в XVI–XVIII вв. понятия «чагатаи», «чагатайское войско» употреблялись применительно к Великим Моголам и их войску, а в XVIII в. большинство людей в «Хиндустане» считало Великих Моголов потомками Чагатай-хана (Бейсембиев 2007: 84).

В 1830-х гг. монгольский лама Джамбадорджи, описывая окружающие Монголию страны, посвятил России лаконичное упоминание о Москве (*Мавшока*): это «столица русского белого царя. Царь этот девушка-царь из рода Чингисова» (Джамбадорджи 2005: 64). Подразумевалась, очевидно, давно покойная к тому времени императрица Елизавета Петровна,⁴ а не современник автора Николай I.

Таким образом, появление в «Дафтар-и Чингиз-наме» Чаган-хана, владеющего Москвой, представляет собой результат сочетания разновременных исторических ситуаций, отголосков о деятельности реальных и легендарных правителей. Это же касается и большинства других лиц, упоминаемых в «Главе повести о местопребываниях и владениях». Устная традиция, формировавшаяся на протяжении нескольких столетий у тюркских народов Центральной Евразии, породила «степную устную историографию».⁵ Одним из памятников этой средневековой системы исторического знания является «Дафтар-и Чингиз-наме», и одним из ее случайных и курьезных персонажей стал московский Чаган-хан.

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4 В некоторых татарских «летописях» (записях хроникального характера) Елизавета Петровна именуется *Кыз патша* (Девушка-царь, или Царь-девица) (см., например Рахим 2004: 576; Рахим 2008: 176, 177).

5 Термин предложен В.П. Юдиным (Юдин 1992: 64–66).

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«Крымская альтернатива» – военно-политический союз Богдана Хмельницкого с Ислам-Гиреем III (1649–1653)

Беата Варга

Во своей истории Украина вела своеобразную *«поливекторную»* (Kiss 2003: 21) дипломатию, которую в середине XVII века можно назвать поливассальной. Частая перемена покровителей или вассалов, т.е. поливассальная внешняя политика, во многом похожа на те исторические обстоятельства, в которых во время «всенародного» (1648–1654) украинского движения под предводительством Богдана Хмельницкого оказались украинские земли.

Территориальное расположение Украины, окруженной сильными соседними государствами, указывало на невозможность долгого сбережения, достигнутых во время восстания, политических и военных успехов. Если бы гетман добровольно не вошёл в союз с правителями окружающих украинские земли стран, то Украина сразу же была бы поглощена соседними государствами. И это для Хмельницкого было ясно с самого начала, поэтому он немедленно начал переговоры с одной только целью, что бы найти себе союзников. Под *«крымской альтернативой»* (Виноградов 2006: 98) подразумевается союз Хмельницкого с ханом Ислам Гиреем III, который существовал с 1649 по 1653 года.

Во время *«великой казацкой войны»* (Плохий 2017: 157) Хмельницкий, нарушая привычные представления о степном фронтире, предложил союз бывшему врагу – крымскому хану. Оживление контактов татар с казаками в середине XVII века было в значительной степени вызвано очередным ослаблением султанской власти: порта осталась без владыки – Ибрагим был задушен, а его преемнику в 1649 году едва исполнилось семь лет. Ислам-Гирей III первым на протяжении длительного срока уклонялся от указов Стамбула, доходя до угроз Порте. В отличие от отдельных случаев неповиновения ханов Турции речь здесь идет о начале действительно постоянной тенденции. Крымский хан, воспользовавшись моментом ослабления контроля со стороны Турции, решил выскользнуть из-под ее опеки вообще, обезопасив себя предварительно союзом с запорожцами. Момент для союза с казаками был благоприятный для хана, потому что Крым переживал тяжелый экономический кризис, и богатый «ясырь» выводил орду из тупика (Чухліб 2009: 65). А. А. Новосельский писал о *«несомненной связи военной*

активности татар с их внутренним строем» (Новосельский 1948: 418). Это означает, что несмотря на благоприятные природные условия, слабое развитие земледелия в Крыму привело к практике извлечения средств из соседних стран.

В начале восстания, весной 1648 года Богдан Хмельницкий с сыном Тимофеем совершил дипломатический визит в Крым, где гетман произнес речь, в которой просил у хана помощи против поляков. *«До сих пор мы были врагами вашими, но ... казаки воевали с тобою поневоле... Мы теперь решились низвергнуть постыдное польское иго, прервать с Ляхистаном всякое соединение, предложить вам дружбу, вечный союз...»* – сказал гетман (Величко 1848: 44–45).

В данный момент хан не мог объединить татарскую конницу с казацким войском, потому что Стамбул требовал ее для собственной войны с Венецией. Однако Ислам-Гирей III в конечном счете отказал султану, с гордостью заявив, что он *«сам по себе живет»* (Новосельский 1948: 396). В результате переговоров удалось заключить украинско-крымский военно-политический союз, благодаря которому хан отправил на помощь запорожцам опытного полководца перекопского мурзу Тугай-бея. Решение Богдана Хмельницкого о крымском союзе было вполне прагматичным. Хотя гетман и обратился за поддержкой к вечным соперникам казаков, он реально оценил ситуацию (Subtelny 2000: 131): у них была малочисленная кавалерия, а в то же время крымские татары имели сильную конницу. Соединив вместе конницу татар и пехоту казаков, Хмельницкий мог превратить свою армию в более ударную и боеспособную. Дружба крымцев с казаками (Magosci 2010: 218) была не очень новым явлением, но никогда раньше крымцы не приходили в Украину с целью – бороться за казацкие вольности. И в этом случае, с точки зрения гетмана, было бы наивностью думать, что татары из симпатии к украинским восставшим вмешаются в польско-украинскую войну. Но независимо от этого, заключенный Богданом Хмельницким союз с татарами в конечном итоге оправдал себя. В мае 1648 года украинско-татарские силы разбили два польских войска на *Желтых Водах* и под *Корсунем*. Помимо ногайской конницы успех восставшим обеспечил переход на их сторону реестровых казаков (около шести тысяч). Битва под *Пиливцами* завершилась тоже разгромом польско-литовских войск. В конце 1648 года казаки и татары уже осаждали Львов и Замостье, на польско-украинском этническом рубеже. Теперь целью гетмана стала задача более важная, чем просто защита казацких прав и привилегий, как было в начале восстания – казацкий предводитель уже видел себя преемником первых Рюриковичей (Плохий 2017: 160–161).

Весной 1649 года Богдан Хмельницкий, в сопровождении крымского хана Ислам-Гирея, с татарской ордой, выступил в поход и осадил польское войско под *Збаражем*. Казаки Хмельницкого и татары под началом самого Ислам-Гирея атаковали польское войско под командованием новоизбранного Яна II Казимира. Войско короля потерпело поражение, но вместо того, чтобы

воспользоваться до конца плодами победы союзников и идти в самую глубь Польши (Kolodziejczyk 2011: 159), заключен бил в *Зборове* договор (Kolodziejczyk 2011: 959–963; Воссоединение 1954: 299–306) с поляками на следующих условиях: признавалась автономия, а фактически и независимость «*Козацкой Украины*» внутри Речи Посполитой на территориях Киевского, Черниговского и Брацлавского воеводств, которая совпадала с военно-сословной организацией казачества; гетман признавался верховным начальником козацкого войска, которого положено было иметь 40.000. Во главе Украины стоял гетман, получающий свою власть от Войсковой Рады и осуществляющий её с козацкой старшиной. В «*Козацкой Украине*» были налицо все три составных элемента государства – единая территория, единый народ и верховная власть. Однако польский король официально не признавал гетман «*самодержцем русским*» (Magosci 2010: 218), каким он назвал себя (Розенфельд 2011: 14).

Украинские победы первых двух лет войны стали возможны благодаря союзу с крымскими татарами. Но летом 1651 года под *Берестечком*, татары покинули союзное войско в разгар битвы, в связи с чем, значительная часть его попала в окружение и через несколько дней была перебита, а сам гетман стал заложником Ислам-Гирея. Впрочем, тот скоро отпустил Богдана Хмельницкого, позволив ему перегруппировать силы, чтобы не допустить краха Запорожского Войска. Ислам-Гирей III вел собственную игру, целью которой было истощение и Польши, и Украины так, чтобы никто не добился решительного успеха. Хан показал это уже под Зборовом в 1649 году, когда договорился с Яном Казимиром и не захотел помочь украинцам полностью разгромить его армию. Надежды Хмельницкого на Крым оказались несбыточными. Осенью 1651 года гетман заключил с Речью Посполитой *Белоцерковский договор* (Источники 1868: 29–31): число реестровых казаков уменьшили до 20 тысяч, а под властью гетмана оставили только Киевское воеводство, а Брацлавское и Черниговское должны были вернуться под прямое управление Короны. Это условие казаки так и не выполнили, поэтому новая война не заставила себя ждать.

Крымцы под командованием Нуреддина помогли украинцам победить в битве под *Батогом* 1–2 июня 1652 года и эта победа позволила Хмельницкому утвердить за собой территории Черниговщины и Брацлавщины. В феврале 1652 года Ислам-Гирей III писал Богдану Хмельницкому, что он всегда был союзником украинцев, называл его *гетманом правителем всей Руси и Войска Запорожского* (Джерела 2014: 17). В феврале 1653 года хан написал новое письмо гетману, которое во многом повторяло письмо от 1652 года, но в этом письме была выражена уверенность, что поляки не будут придерживаться, как Зборовского, так и Белоцерковского договоров (Джерела 2014: 77).

Тупиковость «*крымской альтернативы*» Войска Запорожского стала совершенно ясна осенью 1653 года, во время очередной битвы с поляками у *Жванца*. Союзники-татары повторили тот же маневр, что и в 1649 году, и

помешали казакам разгромить противника. На самом деле крымский хан оберегал казаков от поражения, но не давал победить Яна Казимира (Плохий 2018: 165). Гетману и его окружению ничего не оставалось, как искать иного союзника (Magocsi 2010: 220).

Предпринятая ханом политика посредничества между Чигирином и Варшавой привела к ухудшению крымско-украинских отношений. Именно в декабре 1653 года, когда приготовления к Переяславской Раде шли полным ходом и был заключен так называемый *Жванецкий мир* между Речью Посполитой и Крымом, по которому Ян Казимир подтверждал условия Зборовского договора, выплачивал хану 200 тысяч талеров. В этом договоре предусматривали гарантию крымского хана прощения гетмана королем и сохранения определённых прав войска запорожского в том виде, в котором они были зафиксированы статьями Зборовского договора 1649 года. Таким образом *хан разорвал союз с Хмельницким и стал союзником Речи Посполитой* (Latisiesc 1853: 143–144; 146–147; 149–153). Заключение сепаратного мира с Речью Посполитой в конце 1653 года привело к разрыву с украинцами, который, однако, не был окончательным (Перналь 2013: 218). После смерти Ислам-Гирея III Мехмет-Гирей IV наладил союзные отношения с поляками, а к казакам отправил своего посла Кара-бея, с надеждой, что гетман разорвет союз с русскими (Мицик 2014: 167–168).

Почему союз с Крымом потерял в глазах Богдана Хмельницкого свою привлекательность? К 1653 году гетман разочаровался в союзе с Крымским ханством узнав, что хан заинтересован не в создании украинского государства, а лишь во взаимном ослаблении Речи Посполитой и Украины. Ислам Гирей III больше всего стремился к созданию благоприятных условий для свободных набегов крымской орды по Украине, Речи Посполитой, и, в конечном счёте – это продвижение в Центральную Европу. В своей внешней политике крымский хан, как вассал турецкого султана, должен был учитывать политику Стамбула, что заключалась в ослаблении и Речи Посполитой, и России, а кроме этого и в установлении политического контроля над украинскими землями (Виноградов 2006: 99).

Нереальность «крымской альтернативы» показали переговоры в январе 1658 года с новым ханом Мухаммед Гиреем IV и гетманом Иваном Выговским, и это были уже не переговоры двух равноправных сторон, как было во времена Богдана Хмельницкого, и вмешательство Крыма в ход событий в Украине во второй половине 50–60-х годов XVII века всё равно происходило. Кроме того, в дальнейшем, крымцы приняли активное участие в военных действиях против Речи Посполитой, но это уже совершенно другая геополитическая ситуация. Фактом остается то, что в момент Переяславской рады Богдан Хмельницкий отказался от союза с Крымским ханством. Присоединение украинских земель к России резко изменило отношения Речи Посполитой с Крымским ханством. Ни Богдан Хмельницкий, ни Алексей Михайлович не могли определить, как будут развиваться отношения с

Крымский ханством: будет ли это военный союз против польско-литовского государства, либо хан предпочтёт войну против них в союзе польским королем (Санин 2006: 47). Действительность открывала для хана две альтернативы: традиционный путь союза с Хмельницким или путь смены ориентации, союза с Речью Посполитой. Пока Переяславский договор затруднял грабеж для крымских татар украинских территорий, в то время как союз с польским королем создал предпосылки для более близких и эффективных походов на Украину (Санин 2006: 50–51).

Заключение

Гетманские полномочия Богдана Хмельницкого в области международных отношений пережили длинную эволюцию. После блестящих побед украинцев к казацкой старшине являлись послы от соседних государств, которые предлагали Хмельницкому союз и покровительство, что *было как бы международным признанием автономной Украины*. Целью гетмана было превратить украинские земли в предмет борьбы между соседними государствами, ведь без масштабной войны его власть имела мало шансов устоять. С 1649 года внешняя политика гетмана руководилась целью добиться утверждения «Казацкой Украины» как государства, состоящего в подданстве у какой-либо страны-покровителя, и вырваться из международной изоляции (Чухліб 2009: 54–55). Но во время украинского движения Крымское ханство было единственным государством, которое открыто поддержало восставших казаков против Речи Посполитой (Чухліб 2017: 37–48), хотя поддержка Крымом вооруженного «сепаратизма» осуществлялась при молчаливом согласии турецкого султана и русского царя. Союз с Крымом явился важнейшим фактором, существенно повлиявшим на ход украинско-польской войны. В конечном итоге именно *крымский фактор* определил успешный для Богдана Хмельницкого *Зборовский договор* 1649 года, т. к. вместе с ордой казаки на первых порах были безусловно сильнее польской армии. Не пользуясь военной поддержкой татар, гетман не мог бы проводить те важные политические решения, к которым его понуждала международная обстановка.

Однако, крымско-украинский союз закончился фактическим провалом уже через несколько лет. Когда в результате сотрудничества казаков и татар, усиление казаков стало чрезмерным, Ислам-Гирей III мог оказывать поддержку и Польше. Крымский хан перестал быть союзником для украинцев только в самом конце кампании и на сторону Речи Посполитой он перешел только после того, как поляки пообещали ему значительно больше чем могли дать украинцы. На самом деле усиление России с приобретением украинских территорий, нарушая выгодное для Крыма равновесие сил в Восточной Европе, толкало хана к сближению с Речью Посполитой» (Заборовский 1979: 268). Отсюда сделан правильный вывод о «*собственном татарском расчете*»,

основанном на «*политическом равновесии*» (Смирнов 1887: 555). На самом деле крымские ханы предпочитали оказывать помощь тому противнику, которого они считали более слабым (Санин 1987: 50). Для Богдана Хмельницкого было ясно, что татары гарантировали для них военный успех, а успеха политического – утверждения автономии «Козацкой Украины» – нужно искать иным путем, с присоединением украинских земель к России.

На самом деле и Богдан Хмельницкий вёл «двойную» внешнюю политику, и т.н. «*крымскую альтернативу*» он использовал для достижения благосклонности русского монарха: посредством крымской – и вместе с этим турецкой – ориентации он хотел склонить Алексея Михайловича к антипольскому союзу с «Козацкой Украиной» (Варга 2011: 182).

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Deconstruction of the Traditional Hero Type in Murathan Mungan's *Cenk Hikayeleri*

Bariş Yılmaz

1. Introduction

Murathan Mungan's story collection *Cenk Hikayeleri* (Battle Stories), written between 1980 and 1983 and first published in 1989, has many parallels to traditional Turkish oral cultural narratives in many respects, including characters, story arcs, narrative features and motifs used.

The collection contains six stories under the names of "Şahmeran'ın Bacakları" (Shahmeran's Legs), "Ökkeş ile Cengâver", "Kasım ile Nâsır", "Binali ile Temir", "Ensar ile Civan" and "Yılan ve Geyiğe Dair" (On Snake and Deer). The stories, with the exception of "Şahmeran'ın Bacakları" and "Yılan ve Geyiğe Dair" are written in a very similar style and approach. Although these two stories are both sufficiently significant to be the subject of a number of studies in terms of their connection to the oral culture of the Turkish people, they have been omitted from this study. In my analysis, the primary objective is to present the findings on undermining of the superior and noble attributes of heroism that are common ground throughout four stories called "Ökkeş ile Cengâver", "Kasım ile Nâsır", "Binali ile Temir", "Ensar ile Civan"¹. The secondary aim of the study is to discover the key components of the traditional human model embodied in tribal communities and their conflict with the brand-new hero model introduced in Mungan's tales, which avoids patriarchal pressure through its individualistic attitude towards initiation rites and rigid ordeals.

Another point worth mentioning is that all four stories connote a generic link to a certain style in the classical Turkish and Middle Eastern literature, a titular reference *par excellence* of which Gerard Genette would call "architextuality" (1984: 4). They are emblematic of the tragic romances between— predominantly— a rich girl and a poor boy in the *mesnevis* of divan literature and their variants as folk-tales, such as "Layla and Majnun," "Khosrow and Shirin," "Kerem and Aslı," and so on. Nevertheless, there is a major discrepancy in the four stories of Murathan Mungan, who came out as homosexual a long time ago, that their two protagonists are male characters. Mungan's protagonists are not necessarily in love with each other,

¹ From now on, when I say "four stories", it will mean these four stories.

sometimes they seem to be friends, sometimes there is more than friendship, a tangible emotional tension between the two. Yet apart from the nature of the relationship they share, there is something naive and sentimental that gives a sense of inadequacy in the context in which they reside. The verisimilitude of their inertial lack of willingness to follow customs that require an act contrary to their needs and feelings is what makes Mungan's stories both fascinating and deconstructive.

Having revealed the attributes of the common, generic and unchanging characteristics of mythical heroes, I will consider the extent to which these characteristics are applied to the heroes of the Turkish epic and traditional narratives, then I will argue where hero representation in the four stories takes place according to this typology.

Another important issue to be taken into account is the passage to adulthood, that is, the importance, the rules and the binds of rituals called *initiation* in traditional societies, and the questioning of initiation by Mungan's *heroes* in the four stories. Issues such as the weight it adds to the relationship between the group and the individual, the new meaning of these transition ceremonies in the four stories, the centrifugal force of the rites of initiation, and how they have been reshaped in modern culture will be discussed through the sources of cultural anthropology.

2. Traditional hero in Turkish culture

2.1. Mythical hero and hero archetype

Typically, mythical heroes have very similar characteristics in oral narratives which appear in almost every geography. Heroes are depicted with a special emphasis on the extraordinary qualities they exhibit from birth to death in the ubiquitous and routinely circulated artefacts of orality. Joseph Campbell, in his cult book *The Hero with Thousand Faces*, argues that different myths from all over the world and over the centuries have common patterns. The typical direction taken by the hero in his adventure is the extended version of the formula "*departure-initiation-return*", which, as a whole, forms a narrative of transformation that becomes "the nuclear unit of the *monomyth*", a word borrowed from James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* to describe the invariable and omnipresent character of myths. Campbell describes monomyth as "a hero ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder: fabulous forces are there encountered and a decisive victory is won: the hero comes back from this mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boons on his fellow man" (Campbell 1949: 28). According to him, only the details vary during the Hero's recursive journey, but the frame structure is always preserved for a reason. Hero's actions and choices offer guidance to ordinary people as they face comparatively less challenging circumstances in their everyday lives, or, in Campbell's words: "The whole sense of the ubiquitous myth of the hero's passage is

that it shall serve as a general pattern for men and women, wherever they may stand along the scale” (Campbell 1949: 111).

This brings us to the phenomenon known as the *archetypes* coined by Carl Gustav Jung. Archetypes are, according to Jung, immortal embodiments of individuals, actions, or characteristics that are seen in mystical or religious imagery. Jung pointed out that there are four main archetypes that shaped the *collective unconscious* and lay within it. He distinguishes the collective unconscious from the personal unconscious, which, unlike the former, stems from personal experience and acquisition. Another point of distinction between the two is that the collective consciousness does not, in fact, rely on consciousness, meaning that it does not originate from the forgotten or repressed material that has been dumped in the subconscious, but from the contents that “owe their existence exclusively to heredity” and are called archetypes. Then, as a result, Jung suggests that “the concept of the archetype, which is an indispensable correlate of the idea of the collective unconscious, indicates the existence of definite forms in the psyche which seem to be present always and everywhere” (Jung 1936: 42). Key words here, which led Jung to acknowledge that there is a consciousness that does not lie in consciousness, are *always and everywhere*. The same idea appeared in the monomyth theory of Campbell.

Both authors support their views by providing examples of mythical narratives in different cultures, from Africa to Australia. According to these examples, fearlessness, bravery, wisdom, physical strength, resilience, nobility, etc. are among the unchanging attributes of heroes throughout their endless journeys. Yet the emphasis on heroes’ individuality is not one of the components found in myths. Heroes are not portrayed with psychological depth; they do not display signs of idiosyncrasy in their decision-making; they are all enclosed in heroic traits: lack of feeling, rigidity, single-mindedness... They tend to show signs of exhaustion and even desolation at times, but that is also a constant motif of the journey; if they die, they only die to be reborn stronger. Campbell describes this stage in the hero’s cycle of becoming a hero as “the hero has died as a modern man; but as eternal man—perfected unspecific, universal man—he has been reborn. His second solemn task and deed therefore is to return then to us, transfigured, and teach the lesson he has learned of life renewed.” (Campbell 1949:18).

What a rite of initiation or passage is the re-enactment of this whole journey in a symbolic way. A young adolescent whose time has come to become an adult must prove that s/he is able to bear all the burdens that come with adulthood. Much like the myth hero who abruptly had to be ready to fight for his/her society, the initiation candidate must cross the same paths and face the same ordeals. To do so, they have to die as a child and be reborn as an adult. As Eliade suggests: “The term initiation in the most general sense denotes a body of rites and oral teachings whose purpose is to produce a decisive alteration in the religious and social status of the person to be initiated. In philosophical terms, initiation is equivalent to a basic change in existential condition; the novice emerges from his ordeal endowed with a totally

different being from that which he possessed before his initiation; he has become another.” (Eliade 1984:16).

Because of the very practical nature of their disposition, which is to be an example to all members of society, heroes are not expected to show weakness, fragility or childish intentions. Decisions and acts are taken on a cruel and solely altruistic basis that lacks the complexities of human needs, whether positive or negative, such as intimacy and affection, or even self-gratification. In oral culture-based narratives, the entire initiative of the hero is aimed at ensuring that the organizational stability and ideal cohesion of the society continues, whereas the same is required of young adults who have passed through initiation. The fundamental issue is precisely this in Mungan’s “Battle Stories”, as we will see in the following chapters. In short, there is a battle to be an individual whose choices are governed by no one but himself in each of the four stories. But before dealing with the somewhat paradoxical question of being an individual in a tribal society, let us look at how the hero type was depicted in Turkish oral narratives.

2.2. Representation of the hero in Turkish oral culture

The representation of hero in Turkish epic, legendary, or folk stories is just as similar to that of its counterparts in other parts of the world. Depicted with numerous indicators of their extraordinary attributes since childhood, the main protagonists of such narratives in Turkish oral tradition are valiant, noble, good hunter, good wrestler, strong, cunning, ruthless, relentless, and fear neither fight nor death. The determination to overcome even death is a symbol of their tenacious, indestructible and indefatigable character.

Yıldırım describes Turkish heroic epics as biographies of a hero whose life story is told in a sequence of events starting with his miraculous birth from elderly parents. The miraculous birth of the hero is preceded by exceptional circumstances in the process of his development, and the hero is honored by a name that reflects his personality or a special ability he obtains. The name is given by the wisest member of his tribe after the first rite of initiation that comes with puberty. Upon a successful transition to manhood, his title as a hero is granted through stages such as the pursuit of an appropriate wife, the revenge on a villain for abusing or harming his family/clan, the capture of an elusive animal or the defeat of an invincible beast, and a series of events in which he shows his courage, nobleness and physical strength (Yıldırım 2003: 60).

Kara-Düzgün points out that the central hero figures in the Turkish epics exhibit certain qualities which are repeated in almost every epic narrative, though variations can also be noted. She speaks of the twenty-four defining attributes of the Turkish epic hero, of which the most relevant to our investigation are as follows:

1. The emergence of the hero is foreshadowed before birth.
2. The hero is born in extraordinary circumstances.
- ...

5. The hero's childhood is abnormal and he grows up in a very short time. (There is not so much emphasis on his childhood.)
6. Once the hero proves his heroism, he takes a name.
7. The hero, by means of a heroic act, proves that he is been through childhood. (The name symbolizes holiness and is given by a holy person.)
8. The physical strength of the hero is exceptional from birth, and from time to time he is compared to animals.
- ...
13. The hero embarks on an adventure to live up to his ideal, to prove his courage, or to take revenge.
- ...
15. The hero is often alone in most of his struggles, or in very dangerous situations.
16. The hero is brave. He does not fight those who are not his equivalent.
17. The hero opposes those who are hostile to him, including his father, if necessary.
- ...
24. After the death of the hero, his ideals are pursued by his descendants (Kara-Düzgün 2012: 11, translation mine).

The sixth entry in this list seems to be the most relevant to my analysis, given its intersection with the subject of overcoming puberty through a forced ordeal and exceptional heroism in Mungan's *Cenk Hikayeleri*.

Just to offer an example, let's take a brief look at the saga of "Oguz Khagan", one of the most famous epic heroes in the Turkic world. According to the legend, Oguz Khagan showed constant superhuman qualities from infancy to death. Like the birth of many epic heroes, his birth was a late birth, and it could only happen through great prayers and offerings. His face was sky-colored when he was born, his mouth red as fire, his eyes hazel, his hair and eyebrows dark black, as the story illustrates. He was such a tough kid that he drank his mother's milk only once, and then he asked for raw meat and *kumis*. What was more, he started walking, playing, and even riding a horse when he was just 40 days old. When the name-taking ceremony took place in the first year of his birth, he immediately stood up and gave his own name, saying, "My name is Oguz". Portrayed as a superior being than a common man, Oguz Khagan gave every indication that he was a "chosen one". His every physical feature bore resemblance with some animal's, as if his feet were like ox feet, his waist was like a wolf's waist, his shoulders were like sable shoulders, and his chest was like a bear's chest. These impressive traits are reinforced as he grew up and started hunting and herding horses (Bang & Arat 1970). In short, from birth to death, Oguz Khagan is described as an outstanding hunter, an exceptional khagan, and an exemplary father as a whole. There are obviously not so many references to his psychological state or emotional characteristics. There is no hint of whether he regretted killing an enemy or questioned the role God casts in him.

Kaplan underlines the extremely pragmatic attitude of the epic protagonist, by noting that Oguz Khagan had a fairly straightforward view towards life and did not like complicated matters (Kaplan 2003: 106).

We know that Oguz Khagan and other mythical heroes from all over the world have more or less similar features, and their story arcs contain common elements, that is, archetypes. Nevertheless, in the epics of the Turkic world, we may note an explicitly strong emphasis on single-hero narratives, possibly because of the warlike and nomadic character of Turkic tribes in the past. It is not a coincidence that the *Ural-Batyr* and *Akbuzat kubairs*² of the Bashkirs, the *Altyn-Aryg*³ myth of the Khakas people, the voluminous *Epic of Manas* or *Er Toshtuk* legend of the Kyrgyz people, the *Maday Qara* of the Altai people, etc, are all built around similar archetypal patterns (Gökdağ & Üçüncü 2007). We can also get the same impressions in every story in the *Oguzname of Dede Korkut*. Warriors and *begs* of the Oguz tribes are often described in a fiery passion for battle and blood. They seem to love hunting and attach great importance to bravery and fertility. In this regard, the stories in *Dede Korkut*, as well as the other epics, provide meaningful information about what the collective consciousness of the Turkic people once consisted of.

Besides *Oguzname of Dede Korkut*, it is worth mentioning some other important epics produced by Turkish tribes in Anatolia under the influence of Islam, such as *Battalname*, *Saltukname*, *Danishmendname*, or *Epic of Köroğlu*, and so on. We observe that there is a religious aspect in the actions of the main characters in these mythical narratives, which are, in essence, Islamic variants of the Turkic epics created in Central Asia. These epics had a huge impact on the actual Turkish society, given that they have been reintroduced into popular culture through film or TV adaptations, or revived in the works of contemporary authors such as Yaşar Kemal (1923–2015). It is quite likely that Murathan Mungan was also inspired by these Anatolian/Islamic versions of Turkic heroic epics instead of their remote counterparts in Central Asia. We shall see that until a certain point, the four stories have the same route with some stories in *Dede Korkut* book. Mungan's some other story called "Dumrul ile Azrail" (Dumrul and Azrael/The Angel of Death) is a rewritten version of the story of "Deli Dumrul" in *Dede Korkut*, for example.

Dündar suggests that Mungan tries to reshape the oral narratives of the East in his contemporary tales by undermining the condition of "being a man" inherent in any of these narratives. He knows that the archetypal remnants of them are deeply embedded in modern Turkish society, and thus aims at bringing into discussion their patriarchal status, the status quo that forces young men to act in certain violent and inhuman ways. The pressure of the "man" image generated by hegemonic masculine

² A form of epic poem peculiar to the Bashkir people.

³ In this legend, the main character of the story is not a hero, but a heroine. Although it is a rare quality in Turkic epics, it is not so unusual for the people of Khakas. It is likely to find a female protagonist in several legends of the Khakas (Anayban 2006: 15).

culture is without doubt a hindrance to becoming an “individual” in Mungan’s eyes (Dündar 2003: 80–81).

It is important to keep in mind that, whether patriarchal or matriarchal, collectivism rather than individualism was the most dominant feature of pre-modern society. The ultimate goal was to hold the tribe or society united through myths and pass on wisdom to the next generation by reciting the hero’s exemplary tale. That is why, in Mungan’s narratives, the primary issue should not be gender, in my opinion, but collectivist mentality. Campbell explains the function of rites of initiation and installation in this regard, the myths are useful as long as they “teach the lesson of the essential oneness of the individual and the group”, because: “In his life-form the individual is necessarily only a fraction and distortion of the total image of man. He is limited either as male or as female; ... Hence, the totality—the fullness of man—is not in the separate member, but in the body of the society as a whole; the individual can be only an organ. From his group he has derived his techniques of life, the language in which he thinks, the ideas on which he thrives; through the past of that society descended the genes that built his body. If he presumes to cut himself off, either in deed or in thought and feeling, he only breaks connection with the sources of his existence.

The tribal ceremonies of birth, initiation, marriage, burial, installation, and so forth, serve to translate the individual’s life-crises and life-deeds into classic, impersonal forms. They disclose him to himself, not as this personality or that, but as the warrior, the bride, the widow, the priest, the chieftain; at the same time rehearsing for the rest of the community the old lesson of the archetypal stages. All participate in the ceremonial according to rank and function. The whole society becomes visible to itself as an imperishable living unit. Generations of individuals pass, like anonymous cells from a living body; but the sustaining, timeless form remains. By an enlargement of vision to embrace this superindividual, each discovers himself enhanced, enriched, supported, and magnified.” (Campbell 1949: 354–55)

This is what the *antiheroes* in Mungan’s four stories are silently against: being part of “an imperishable living unit”, “a timeless form”. They choose to perish on their own at the expense of being expelled. The tribal mentality, which gives priority to societal duties over personal needs, still retains its validity in modern societies and thus continues to eradicate the individual from the human being, which is the real subject of discussion in the four stories. The characters of Mungan, who can now be considered individuals, have a great difficulty in fitting into the patterns of actions that their societies regulate.

3. The Manhood Ordeal: Antiheroes in *Cenk Hikayeleri*

The stories in *Cenk Hikayeleri* are the texts in which concepts such as heroism and fortitude are presented as the most evident manifestations of ongoing and approved masculinity and hive mind mentality in oral narratives. Mungan's stories can be seen as a critical appeal to the tendency of traditional society to create heroes and to glorify the notion of a hero, together with the representation of such an archaic way of thinking within modern culture. In view of the socio-political climate of modern Turkey, I would suggest that Mungan, who reinvigorates the heroic narratives by overturning their focus, on the one hand seeks a source of patriarchal domination over society, on the other, undermines this dominance.

Dündar calls this approach "a critique of the sexist heritage" rooted in Turkey while determining that love and friendship are intertwined with death and violence in Mungan's stories through the intervention of tradition and rituals. Through the rites of initiation, adolescents, who are the leading figures in all of the four stories, are obliged to leave behind their childhood and the "feminine features that symbolize nature" (Dündar 2001: 29). Masculinity is clearly at issue here, but I would interpret the question of masculinity as more focused on the incoherence of the individual and the social aspect than on a feminist perspective that sees non-heroic passivity as feminine. The four stories in *Cenk Hikayeleri* include a battle between teenage boys and their groups because of certain customs, norms and values that rule in these groups. In this respect, we should seek to analyze the "critique of the standardizing and collectivist heritage" in Mungan's stories rather than a sexist one.

As a matter of fact, the four stories in *Cenk Hikayeleri* are parodies of epics and heroic narratives in the postmodern sense of the word. In terms of style, diction and rhetoric the stories resemble epics, however, in parody, there is always a playful manner that "inevitably connotes satire and irony" according to Genette (1984: 24). That is why, for this kind of neutral textual transformation that does not intend to mock or debase higher genres, he first uses the anachronistic term "serious parody" (Genette 1984: 26) and then chooses to call it "transposition" (Genette 1984: 28). Thus, we can also freely designate Mungan's four stories in *Cenk Hikayeleri* as transpositions of Turkish heroic epics.

Mungan's transpositions are stylistically similar to heroic narratives in oral tradition, but the characters within them behave and think differently, as if they do not fit in with the customary role that has been designed for them. In each of the four stories, high manners are mirrored by low manners; love is mirrored by hatred, courage by cowardice, nobility by humility, and friendship by betrayal. By this dialectical way, Mungan makes it possible to bring these heroes closer to the ordinary equations of real life and to take the pressure of being impeccable off their shoulders. They are no longer the same heroes as the heroes of *Layla and Majnun*,

Dede Korkut, or *Köroğlu*, on whom the society's thirst for the sanctification of sacred and high values is diminished.

The first story of the four stories is called "Ökkeş ile Cengâver". It is a narrative challenging the brutal aspect of initiation rites that render enemies of two boys who used to be close friends. The rite, which means the transition to manhood, makes the main character Ökkeş think about and question *töre* –the tribal customs that leave no room for feelings at all. He attempts to rationalize the intent of the rites by asking, "What is the sense of custom?"⁴ which is the first hint as to how he differs from the classical mythical heroes who never look for reason in the rites ("Oguz Khagan did not like the complicated matters").

It is Ökkeş's mother who trains him for the initiation ceremony and keeps reminding him of the importance of the ceremony to prove his virility. She has the utmost loyalty to the patriarchal norms of society that reproduce this virile image of the male members, and thus disapproves of the doubts that her son casts on customs. Her answer to Ökkeş's question – "What is it that these customs test?"⁵ – is a good illustration of her fatalistic commitment to the way things work in their tribe, which is precisely why things work that way. It is, for some reason, just mandatory for any 15-year-old boy: "Everything is tested by customs in the camp, don't you know that? It is the law of custom that guides the heart and mind, as well as the entire life. And this is the test of manliness. Why do you pretend not to understand? Now, you have turned fifteen. Your age has reached the man-age. It is time to test your manliness. If you can't bear the pain of these two days, how can you bear the pain of your whole life, my son?"⁶

What we understood from the mother's answer is that the ordeals in the ritual are considered a dry run for the predestined troubles that life will bring. Life is supposed to bring all kinds of threats, and this is the best way to be braced for them. Then she tells him to see everything as a "game" or a kind of "second circumcision" (Mungan 1989: 102). Considering that circumcision is seen as one of the most important rites of passages in terms of turning to a man in the societies that apply it, the mother's argument makes more sense. Yet, it is preconceived that her son was already at peace with the fear of having his penis cut off and the ritualistic celebration of all these as a symbol of being a male. Ozturk's research shows that Turkish young males indeed carry an anxiety of castration over circumcision, and that it is not only the ritual itself that causes fear, but all the aura of masculine culture that surrounds the individual, in other words, "societal preparatory experiences and meanings attached to it." (Ozturk 1973: 49). It is accurate to assume, therefore, that to think of

4 "Törenin usu nedir?" (Mungan 1989: 101).

5 "Neyin sınamasıdır bu töreler?" (Mungan 1989: 101)

6 "Bilmez misin ki, her şey töreyle sınanır obada. Törenin hukukudur akla ve de yüreğe yol gösteren. Ve de cümle hayata yol gösteren. Bu da erliğin sınanmasıdır. Niye anlamaz görünürsün? Yaşın gayrı on beştir. Yaşın er yaşına değdi. Erliğini sınamak vakti geldi. Şu iki günün acısına katlanamayan, bir ömrün acısına nasıl katlanır oğul?" (Mungan 1989: 101).

it as a “second circumcision” would definitely not motivate Ökkeş to handle the rite of passage better; on the contrary, it might increase pressure and anxiety. In the mother’s view, circumcision is not even a matter of debate, it is a must, and everybody knows it, just as in modern Turkish culture, where it is so entrenched that nobody questions whether to perform it or not.

Returning to the story, the mother explains the rules of this violence-filled game. Candidates are left in a remote place where they are set to play a hunting game with the roles of hunter and prey. First, they take Ökkeş’s friend Cengâver and leave him in a spot near the top of a mountain. Ökkeş is the next one, and in order to win, he must track and locate Cengâver before sunset. “If one of your enemies is Cengâver, the other is time”, says his mother (Mungan 1989: 102). Most of the story is made up of these dialogs between Ökkeş and his mother. She knows her son’s strong affection for Cengâver, but still points out that traditions are more important than anything else, making it more difficult to solve Ökkeş’s dilemma.

In the non-linear structure of the narrative, we return to the first day when Cengâver was a hunter, and Ökkeş was his prey. While *töre* tests the manhood of the lads, Ökkeş tests Cengâver’s friendship and loyalty. Cengâver reminds Ökkeş how binding the customs are when he hits his stomach. Saying, “My manhood is at stake, and there is no one else to defend it”,⁷ Cengâver admits that he gives priority to his status in the camp, rather than showing loyalty to his mate. Beating his best friend, he successfully passes the initiation ritual and becomes a man, but fails the test of integrity and loyalty in Ökkeş’s eyes. He is disappointed, but not because of the blows of his friend, the fact that his friend never questioned customs, as he did, hurts him deeply (Mungan 1989: 108–09).

Ökkeş’s discord with the rest of the community is founded on the community’s effort to extinguish tender feelings in order to make people rock solid. He cannot think of this brutal ceremony as a game, because there is something malicious about it that encourages backstabbing: “There was a dagger on the back of this game. There was something that hurts friendship, fellowship, and love in this ritual. Each ritual was diminishing a part of the human.”⁸ He believes that the answer may lie in discovering the point from which such rituals arose.

Ökkeş is seen as the hunter this time at the end of the story. He tries his best to violate the rules of the game by deliberately searching for his friend in places he would not go. He cannot afford to lose his sensitivity in order to become a “real man”. Yet, no matter how hard he tries, he feels drifted to the place where he last met Cengâver, who would be waiting for him in the same place. At this moment, he figures out that Cengâver’s love, like his, also overcomes customs (Mungan 1989: 122–23). Regardless of the fact that the author of this story is homosexual, it is not difficult to figure out that there is an intimacy that is more than friendship between

⁷ “Erlüğim ortada. Ve benden başka onu koruyacak kimse yok.” (Mungan 1989: 108).

⁸ “Bu oyunun sırtında bir hançer vardı. Sevgiyi, dostluğu, arkadaşlığı, yoldaşlığı yaralayan bir şey vardı bu törede. Her töre insanın bir yanını eksiltiyordu.” (Mungan 1989: 111).

these two characters. The nature of the relationship between them is never explicitly mentioned, but it is implied that they are in love, like *Layla and Majnun*, except that they are both men, or that they are bound to be men. This is how Murathan Mungan overturns the notion of a hero whose courageous deeds are presented as models for all men and must be imitated in the rites of initiation.

Another story in the collection that reveals how initiation rituals extinguish individuality is “Ensar ile Civan”, albeit not as powerful as “Ökkeş ile Cengâver”. Ensar, a 14-year-old, and Civan, a 13-year-old, are two friends who live on two sides of a river, causing a break in their relationship when winter comes. When nature wakes up with the return of spring, their respective clans celebrate it with a rite of rejuvenation. And this time it is Ensar and Civan who are obliged to represent their clans “as the last trackers of a shrunk tradition” in a battle of *cirit*.⁹ As in the previous story, a game seen as a test to prove manhood appears to be a cause of friction between two close friends, as well as between the individual and society. Arslan suggests that Ensar and Civan are instrumentalized in the hegemonic fight between their villages, as their combat-commodified bodies become an arena for the ongoing struggles of domination between different groups, the showdowns of manhood, and the savor of aggression and blood (Arslan 2018: 41).

Ensar shares his excitement about the upcoming show by saying, “It was my first *cirit*, the first *cirit* at a festival like this. I had been raised for a long time to do this, and now I was waiting for my turn.”¹⁰ When his turn comes to show his skills, he notices that his rival is Civan, his friend from the other side of the river, whom he had never seen so close. He then points out the unfortunate fact that their first encounter without a river between them has to be “on such a line of enmity”,¹¹ which means this first *cirit* game is a “loss” for both of them.

Influenced by the audience’s grunts, Ensar strikes first. Civan, reeled from the hit, watches his friend in a disappointed way. The scene is very similar to how Ökkeş feels betrayed when Cengâver punched him, but the difference between the stories is that Ensar never asks questions about the customs that make him beat his friend. He prioritizes the first *cirit* game and the success that comes with it, instead of thinking about friendship. Ensar’s only complaint is that because of this issue, he could not have enough pleasure in the ceremony (Mungan 1989: 244–45).

However, he has his own conflict with the customs of his tribe, but for a totally different cause. One summer, he does not see his friend on the other side of the river. Then he hears that Civan has lost his dog and is searching for it. Ensar manages to find him on a raft floating on the water, on which Civan wallows in an

9 *Cirit* (or *Jereed*, *Jirid*, *Djerid*, etc.) is a traditional Turkish equestrian team sport performed on horseback in which the goal is to gain points by throwing a wooden javelin-like stick at the opposing team’s horsemen.

10 “Bu benim ilk *ciritim*di. Böyle bir şenlikte ilk *ciritim*. Nicedir bu iş için usta ellerde yetiştirilmişim, şimdiyse heyecanla sıramı bekliyordum.” (Mungan 1989: 243).

11 “Böyle bir düşmanlık çizgisinin üzerinde” (Mungan 1989: 244).

unrecognizable physical state. He tries to save him, but the villagers on some other rafts warn him not to do so, since Civan is cursed and possessed by the “water djinns”. They say the only way is “to exorcize the water djinns” by making him pass through the water on that weak raft. Civan, apparently infected with rabies, attacks Ensar, who defends himself with an oar and interprets the situation as their “last *cirit* game”. Civan loses his balance during the scuffle, eventually falls into the water and disappears, leading Ensar to blame himself for his death. Civan’s fellow-tribesmen tell him not to despair, “Water djinns did not let him go. No one is guilty of this!”¹²

This is the point of contention in the battle of Ensar and Civan; the villagers bring Civan to the river to exorcize the water djinns that allegedly possess him. They *believe* that if he does not fall into the river, then he will pass the trial of djinns. Ensar also most probably does not have the answers to Civan’s condition, then again, he inadvertently stands against such irrational way of solving a problem, or against “collective representation”. It signifies that there are symbols that have common meanings and interpretations among the members of particular communities, the accumulation of which creates a collective consciousness that is transmitted over generations (Durkheim 1912:16; Lévy-Bruhl 1926: 17; Jung 1936: 61–62). The hero archetype of the epics is the most fitting conveyor of such meanings by his acts and decisions. What we see in this Murathan Mungan story is a hero who cannot interpret a symbol, as other members of that particular community do, and his misinterpretation causes his friend to die. In the first story, Ökkeş was a hero who did not want to undertake the role of hero; in this story, Ensar is a hero who does not fully meet the requirements of becoming a hero, however he wants to be.

In the next story, “Kâsım ile Nasır” , we are taken to revisit a well-known theme in epics: patricide. Kâsım and Nasır are twins who are driven to the deer-hunting by their fathers to prove their skills when they become 15. But because their bloodline is cursed, they mistakenly shoot their father, who is seen as a deer to them, and decapitate him as well. They realize what they did, only when they cut off the head (Mungan 1989: 128).

Lineage and having noble blood are very important attributes of the hero in all epics. Turkic heroic legends also place emphasis on the sacredness of the bloodline. Kâsım and Nasır have a rotten heritage, for their mother uses black magic and loses her eyesight to give birth to them. They are born after a long and painful process, like archetypal heroes, but they are not skilled hunters or noble children. They kill their father in a ceremony that gives them the opportunity to prove their dignity, whether by accident or not. Because they have not been able to pass the ordeal of initiation, their adulthood also becomes excruciating. Once the elders conclude that Kâsım is dead because of his long absence, they agree to marry his wife to Nasır according to their customs. Kâsım finally returns home and starts a fight over his wife with his twin brother, resulting in a loss of their bloodline (Mungan 1989: 130).

12 “Su cinleri geçit vermedi! ... Kimsenin bir suçu yok!” (Mungan 1989: 243).

The story is a complete transposition of the epics in terms of heroic deeds and features, which are also described in the story by Hazer Bey's father, the great grandfather of Kâsim and Nasır: "Falling in love weakens a man. Love is a womanly thing. Man loves, too, for sure, but he loves his family, his tribe, he loves horses, weapons, war, he loves shedding blood. He unkindly loves his enemy. Some men love well-knit carpets or well-forged coppers. Man's heart must be filled only with feelings such as courage, valor, fortitude and righteousness. Each man must fall in love with the stories of heroism."¹³

Mungan transposes the sum of these ideas into his modern-heroic narratives, incorporating the dimension of resistance against this detached-from-emotion representation of man. It does not seem anachronistic, provided the reverberation of this ethos, which persists in the collective subconscious of developed societies, to be based on these narratives.

The final story, "Binali ile Temir", is a battle of courage and cowardice between a brave pastor who, once again, is no more than 15 years old and lives alone in the mountains, and a famous *eşkîya* (brigand) who gets wounded while escapes from the soldiers. In this story, the point of conflict is that Binali has made a name for himself as a feared outlaw, but now he is taken care of by a pastor boy who does not fear him at all. Temir lives in solitude and has not been affected by the mythical aura generated around Binali, which actually harms Binali's ego. Outlaw heroes in Turkish folk tales, such as Köroğlu, are often associated with positive attributes. Although acting against the law, they inspire respect and appreciation in the common people, in so far as they protect the poor and the weak. But here, Temir, with the power of capturing a notorious brigand, feeds his own ego by torturing Binali. He keeps yelling, "I am the Köroğlu of these mountains!"¹⁴ as Binali's heroism fades away. Binali feels tired, desperate, and defeated by a nobody, because he was confronted with an enemy that no other hero had ever been confronted with.

4. Conclusion

Murathan Mungan's *Cenk Hikayeleri*, in a postmodernist way, reshapes the stories about the heroism of men that have been told in ancient Turkic epics, myths and legends, and folk tales of Anatolia, the Balkans, Central Asia. The stories are somewhat parody of the ideals of so-called manly behaviors that young boys in adolescence have been urged to follow in pre-modern cultures, which are still to

13 "Sevdalanmak erkeği zayıf düşürür. Sevmek kadının işidir. Erkeğe korumak, himaye etmek düşer. Erkek de sever elbet, lakin ailesini, kavmini, atları, silahları, savaşı, kan akıtmayı sever. Düşmanını da düşmanca sever. Kimi erkekler iyi dokunmuş halıları, iyi dövülmüş bakırları da severler. Erkek yüreğini yalnızca cesaret, yiğitlik, gözüpeklik ve adalet duygusu gibi duygular doldurmalı. Her erkek ancak kahramanlık hikâyelerine gönüş düşürmeli." (Mungan 1989: 133).

14 "Ben bu dağların Köroğlusuyum!" (Mungan 1989:199).

some degree preserved in modern societies. Mungan also provides a stance that is opposed to a collectivist mindset that functions in conjunction with patriarchy to render soldiers of ordinary people. In the final analysis, we can determine that Mungan, through the new hero type he created in his battle stories, incorporates a tacit resistance in the battle against the collectivist-masculine culture, the roots of which lie in mythical narratives and initiation ceremonies.

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Фрагмент ярлыка (*мюльк-наме*) крымского хана Сахиб-Гирея

Илья Зайцев (Москва) – Решат Алиев (Бахчисарай)

Почти двадцатилетнее правление Сахиб-Гирея (1532–1551) составляет целую блестящую эпоху в истории Крымского ханства. Завоевательные походы на север и восток, экономические преобразования и строительная деятельность амбициозного и честолюбивого хана сопровождались, помимо прочего, и изменениями в ханской канцелярии. В 1540-х годах, судя по сохранившимся образцам, в Крыму появляется новая разновидность суюргального ярлыка. Писцы ханского дивана стремятся к максимальной лаконичности текста пожалования, еще свободного от тяжеловесных арабизмов ярлыков второй половины XVI–XVII вв. Как писал некогда лучший знаток джучидской деловой письменности М.А.Усманов, отличительной чертой этого нового суюргального пожалования становится замена диспозиций-запрета тарханных жалований на диспозицию-утверждение суюргальных, где определяются территории и границы владений (Усманов 1979: 245). Иными словами, вместо освобождения от повинностей и налогов держателям ярлыков жалуют землю. В эпоху Сахиб-Гирея, как мы увидим, был узаконен и обычай взимания платы за оформление пожалования.

До нас дошло 10 ярлыков Сахиб-Гирея времени его правления в Крыму (не считая казанского, выданного 1 января 1523 г. Шейх-Ахмаду). Из них ровно половина – копии (иногда даже копии с копии), вторая половина – подлинники. Перечислим эти последние:¹

«ярлык мюльк-наме» Сахиб-Гирея Ак-Кучек-бию, Анепи и Кудай-кулу на колодец (между Кунджу, Тубаем и Джурунджи) от конца Джумада II 956 / июль 1549 г., выданный в Бахчисарае. Ходатайствовал Маашук. Писал *кятиб* Мустафа. Хранится в Архиве Республики Крым в Симферополе (далее - АРК. Русский перевод см. Лашков 1897: 2).

«мюльк-наме ярлык» Сахиб-Гирея Тилау-Берди на землю (между владениями Хаджи-Хейр-шейх, с востока – Урлюк, с запада – Бауш-мерен) от конца Джумада II 956 / июль 1549 г., выданный в Бахчисарае.

¹ Знакомство с подлинниками ярлыков позволило нам уточнить описания М.А.Усманова (Усманов 1979: 38–42).

Ходатайствовал Кюн-Тоган-бей. Писал *кятиб* Мустафа. Хранится в АРК.

«мюльк-наме ярлык» Сахиб-Гирея ...хбай-Суфи на землю около Ак-Месджида (между владениями Абд ар-Рахим – б[а]я, Седжиут, Бурнак и Хаджи-Дервиш-суфи) от реджеба 956 / июль-август 1549 г., выданный в Бахчисарае. Имя ходатая не сохранилось. Писал *кятиб* Шаабан. Хранится в АРК.

«ярлык мюльк-наме» Сахиб-Гирея Тулпару на землю от 19 сафара 957 / 8 марта 1550 г., выданный в Алма-Сарае. Ходатайствовал Маашук-бей. Писал *кятиб* Шаабан. Хранится в АРК.

«мюльк-наме ярлык» хана Кызыл-Курту, сыну ширина Баш-Куртуга на землю по реке Кара-Су от 21 Раби II 957 / 10 мая 1550 г., выданный в Алма-Сарае. Ходатайствовал Агыш-бей. Писал *кятиб* Шаабан. Хранится в Санкт-Петербурге в Институте восточных рукописей РАН.

Легко заметить, что все пять подлинных ярлыков относятся к короткому промежутку времени между июлем 1549 и маем 1550 г. Агыш, Маашук и Гюн-Доган, упомянутые в трех ярлыках как беи-ходатаи, – хорошо известные нам по «Истории Сахиб-Гирея» Реммал-ходжи деятели, приближенные хана. Три ярлыка написаны *кятибом* Шаабаном, два – Мустафой.²

Теперь в нашем распоряжении появился еще один подлинный ярлык Сахиб-Гирея (вернее, к сожалению, только его часть).

Документ был обнаружен внутри музейного предмета в Бахчисарайском историко-культурном и археологическом музее-заповеднике (КП 9761 – К 620), значащегося в музейной документации как «Книга на арабском языке, в картонном переплете, корешок из коричневой кожи. Крышки оклеены бумагой с крупным орнаментом темного цвета. Тушь черная, красная, коричневая. Красной выполнены подчеркивания».

В действительности это турецкое сочинение по шариату и основам исламской обрядовой практики со ссылками на классические тексты по *фикху* (например, *Хазинат ал-фикх* Абу Лейса ас-Самарканди). Как пишет составитель (переводчик?) в сохранившейся части предисловия, основой для написания его послужили 96 книг. Самое начало текста утрачено. Судя по колофону, текст переписал некий Ахмед б. Абд ал-Ханан (عبدالحنان), год переписки не указан.

Текст разделен на главы (...باب بيان) с изложением отдельных тем (например, об омовении, о *мисваке* и проч).

Очень ровный крупный *наسخ* говорит о том, что рукопись относится к XV-XVI вв.

2 По копиям нам известен еще один писец хана – Халкаман.

К сожалению, на данном этапе изучения истории формирования музейной коллекции невозможно проследить источник поступления указанной книги в музейное собрание. Известно, что значительная часть старинных книг изначально хранилась в библиотеки Бахчисарайского дворца-музея, затем была переведена в архив, а в 2000-е годы в фонды музея.

Книга, внутри которой обнаружен исследуемый документ, в 2019 г. была отреставрирована сотрудниками отдела художественной реставрации Бахчисарайского музея-заповедника. На отчетном заседании реставрационного совета музея-заповедника было отмечено, что по итогам проведенных работ оригинальную обложку в виду её ветхости заменили на новую. В ходе замены старинной картонной обложки, внутри неё обнаружили несколько вклеенных листов бумаги. Специалисты расслоили склеенные между собой листы, в результате чего выявили, по меньшей мере, восемь фрагментов с рукописными текстами арабской графикой.

Среди них текст - опись *махра* (неотчуждаемой части имущества женщины, оговариваемой при вступлении в брак) общей стоимостью 28 300 [курушей], принадлежащей некой Халиме - разведенной жене покойного Хусейна. Эта опись включает в себя черный сундук, большую и малую чаши چمچاق; какой-то «пыточный» замок (? - اسكنجه قلید), печатное покрывало или накидка (بیمه بورغان), 2 кыйе меди и др.

Опись заверена оттиском восьмиугольной печати с рифмованной легендой в две строки (قل شفاء ... مصطفى) и датой 1188 г.х. (1774–75).

Дата на печати дает нам *terminus post quem* для переплета книги: иными словами, реставрация этого переплета не могла быть сделана ранее этого года. Скорее же всего, сама реставрация произошла уже после присоединения Крыма к Российской империи, когда была утрачена правовая сила ханских имущественных документов и они превратились в ненужную бумагу, вполне пригодную для починки переплета.

На одном из выявленных документов внимание привлекает квадратный оранжевый оттиск ханской квадратной печати с куфическим шрифтом, характерной для золотоордынских и ранних крымских ярлыков. Размеры сохранившейся части документа соответствовали размерам обложки книги, в которой он был обнаружен – 16 x 21,5 см. Документ имеет следы четырёх сгибов и незначительные утраты биологического характера.

До нас дошла примерно одна четвертая часть первоначальной площади листа (левая нижняя часть). Ни имя ходатая, ни имя писца, ни дата выдачи ярлыка не сохранились. Однако даже по сохранившемуся фрагменту можно сделать вывод, что это суюргальный ярлык, выданный Сахиб-Гиреем на землю, границы которой описываются в первой сохранившейся строке. Именно в эпоху Сахиб-Гирея оформляется, по словам М.А.Усманова, новая разновидность суюргальных ярлыков, в которых диспозиция не содержит оборотов-распоряжений с указанием налогов и повинностей. В этих ярлыках после т.н. публичного объявления, следующего за развернутым адресатом,

указывается границы земли, которая закрепляется за держателем ярлыка, далее сообщается о цене, которую заплатил жалующий «за печать» при получении акта (Усманов 1979: 245).

Публикуемый текст в сохранившемся своем объеме в наибольшей степени близок ярлыку Сахиб-Гирея от 21 Раби II 957 / 10 мая 1550 г., также выданному в Алма-Сарае некоему Кызыл-Курту, сыну какого-то ширини Баш-Куртуга на землю по реке Кара-Су (Усманов 1979: 41–42). Этот документ, как мы уже упомянули, в подлиннике хранится в ИВР РАН в Санкт-Петербурге. Мы можем заметить, что плата «за печать» вместо подведения коня в двух документах одинакова и составляет 15 000 акче. По мнению М.А.Усманова, эта плата, существовавшая и раньше, была узаконена в крымской канцелярии именно Сахиб-Гиреем (Усманов 1979: 245).

Текст ярлыка

...كون طوشى سكر.... كون باتشى...
 ... ساغى ايچون اط يرسيز اون بش مينك يرليغ ايچون..
 ...لدي ايرسا منوم داخى سيورغال عنايتم بولوب قولونه ...
 ...يردم و بيوردمكى من بعد حاكم الوقت بولغان اولوغ كچيك سلطانلردين ...
 ... كمرسه مانع بولوب كوج وباسنج قلوب بونجوغ ...
 لارزنهارديو قولونه ملك نامه يرليغ برلدى

Перевод

1. с востока – ..., с запада Секиз - ..
2. ...[за что упомянутый] дал за ярлык вместо коня пятнадцать тысяч ...
- 3...я также, соизволив, суюргальное мое пожалование дал в его руки...
4. Кто бы то ни был из правящих старших и младших султанов...
5. ...пусть не чинят препятствие и насилие, вред и [притеснение]...
6. Так говоря, ему в руки дан, этот ярлык-мюльк-наме..

Вертикальная надпись

بمقام آلماسراى

Перевод: «В месте Алма-Сарай».



حرم الزوجه حليمه علي تركته الزوج حبيب و در دفع العسمه في اخر جباري الاخير


فرصت	كبير حجاب	كوتيه جويون	برقوتنجين	البا
۳۰۰۰	۳۰۰۰	۵۰۰۰	۷۰۰۰	۱۰۰۰
بقره	صغير حجاب	جوط	بصميه نورخان	كوتيه
۳۰۰۰	۴۰۰۰	۵۰۰۰	۵۰۰۰	۵۰۰۰
الكنجه كلید	جبار			
۱۲۰۰	۲۰۰۰			
جمع				
				۲۸۳۰۰

مرحوم حسين تركه زوجه متر و كده سي حليمه تركه مرحوم ح

مستقر اولان مهر منو جله سي مقابلته تعيين اولان

۲۱۶۰۰

مهر الله



Текст печати:

Оттиск печати сохранился не полностью, но читаемая часть позволяет сделать вывод, что печать тождественна оттискам квадратной тамги Сахиб-Гирея, которую мы знаем по другим его крымским ярлыкам (Усманов 1979: 149, табл. XI-3), и которая содержит такой текст:

«Во имя Аллаха милостивого милосердного. Нет божества, кроме Бога, а Мухаммад его пророк. Султан величайший Сахиб-Гирай-хан сын Менгли-Гирай-хана сына Хаджи-Гирай-хана».

К величайшему сожалению, границы земельного владения в ярлыке, читаются чрезвычайно неуверенно. Совершенно очевидно, что в названиях двух мест с востока и запада от жалуемой земли (или колодца) имеется общая концовка - *شیان*. Возможно, что в первом случае это нечто вроде *دکوزتو شیان*, или даже *وکوزتو شیان* ...; во втором - *سکزاباطبای شیان*. Впрочем, даже наличие числительных не дает нам пока ключа к разгадке расположения этих мест в Крыму.

Особого внимания заслуживает указание на место выдачи ярлыка. По подсчетам М.А.Усманова, Альма-Сарай как место выдачи крымских ярлыков второй половины XVI в. упоминается 10 раз (Усманов 1979: 266). Действительно, Сахиб часто бывал там. Согласно «Истории хана Сахиб-Гирея», у хана было 5 дворцов: «в это время у него было 36 тысяч овец, более 10 тысяч лошадей, 5-6 тысяч черного скота, 3 тысячи слуг, в 5-ти местах у него были дворцы, подобные райским жилищам (*بش پرده جنت مثال سرای*). Со времен Чингиз-хана никто еще из ханов не имел таких богатств и имущества» («История Сахиб-Гирея»: 188; *Tarih-i Sahib* 1973: 138).³ В 1620-х годах монах доминиканского ордена Жан де Люк повторял данные о количестве дворцов хана: «У хана пять дворцов, у султана – два...» (Описание 1879: 483).

Дворцы в Улаклы (совр. Глубокий Яр в Бахчисарайском районе) и на Альме были, видимо, наиболее любимы ханом. Так, Реммал-ходжа пишет: «а хан проводил время в еде и питье, охоте и веселии то в Бахчисарае, то в Улаклы-сарае, то в Эльма-сарае» (*Tarih-i Sahib* 1973: 45). Обычно хан проводил там по несколько дней, не только предаваясь веселью, но, и решая государственные дела (в частности утверждая ярлыки-пожалования). По словам Жюльена Бордые, посетившего Крым в 1607 г., дворец Альма находился в 5-6 милях от Бахчисарая (Бордые 2020).

Необходимо отметить, что выявленный фрагмент ярлыка – единственный оригинальный образец делопроизводства эпохи Крымского ханства, сохранившийся в собрании Бахчисарайского музея-заповедника. Известно, что в довоенной коллекции музея имелись десятки оригинальных документов. Все они погибли 27 октября 1941 г. во время бомбардировки нацистской авиацией Керчи, куда их эвакуировали. В наши дни часть этого комплекса ханских

³ В издании этой фразы нет.

ярлыков доступна лишь в виде изображений на стеклянных негативах, находящихся в фондах музея-заповедника. В списке утраченных книг и рукописей Бахчисарайского музея за 1946 г. значатся «книги, в которых переплетены ярлыки крымских ханов и другие рукописные уникальные документы времен ханов, касающиеся культуры, быта и имущественных взаимоотношений населения» (Зайцев, Эминов 2015: 152).

Авторы надеются на обнаружение новых ярлыков и документов эпохи Крымского ханства, истории которого так много сил отдает Мария Иванович. Этому выдающемуся венгерскому тюркологу и замечательному человеку мы и посвящаем эту скромную статью.

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Etil in the *Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmā*

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The edition and translation of the famous *Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmā* with a detailed historical commentary and study of the nomadic power system are an integral part of the scientific activity of Professor Mária Ivanics. The study of the river name Etil in this Tatar source is a fitting topic for a tribute to her.

One of the historical narrative sources of the Volga region, the *Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmā* was compiled in the 1680s in the Khanate of Kasimov, a puppet state of Moscow. It is divided into six chapters: the first is the tale (*dastān*) of Chingis Khan, the second is that of Timur and his campaigns against among others Bulghār, the third is the story of Isaoghli Amet, fourth is the tale of Edige-bey, fifth is the list of rulers and their habitats (*yurt*) and finally the historical events (*ta'rikh*).¹

The hydronym Etil is written in the forms: 'dīl ایدیل *Īd.l* ایدل and *Īdīl* ایدیل in the text:

Insān Beg aydī ay anam män uluġ Īdīl-ning ایدیل اولوغ ایچ [yönigä] (15) taw yerigä barurmän anda mäqām yurt tutarmän (Ivanics, Usmanov 2002: 77, 243, 39r 15)

Insan Beg said: O my mother! I go to the inner side of the Great Īdīl, to the mountain and I settle there (Ivanics 2017: 246).

Insan Beg is one of the two sons of a wise woman living in Bular. After the siege of Bulghar (modern Bolgary) Timur went against Bular (modern Bilyarsk) and its ruler surrendered. Timur visited the town in disguise and he heard the wise widow of Jadash Beg saying that the surrender is the order of God due to their sins. Next day Timur ordered that the clan of this woman may settle wherever they wish. The elder son Insan Beg with her mother and relatives crossed the Etil, and, after reaching the mountainous bank, they settled along the river Kubnya, the left tributary of the river Sviyaga which is now in the territory of Chuvashia. The younger brother went toward the east to their ancient habitat on the bank of the Zay, the left tributary of the river Belaya. As for the western migration of the clan, there is an interesting reference to one episode in the ethnogenesis of the Chuvash.

¹ New critical edition: Ivanics, Usmanov 2002; A detailed description of the author and the work cf. Usmanov 1972, 97–133; Frank 1998, 14–17.

hān awğa čiqqanda qizni alib qačdı (15) *Züyä tağında barib* ایدیل *‘.dıl*
yaqasında turdı (Ivanics, Usmanov 2002: 85, 248, 43v15)

When the Khan (Janibeg r. 1342–1357) went out to hunt, he (Isaoghli Amet) kidnapped the girl, went to the Züyä mountain and settled down on the bank of the *‘.dıl*. (Ivanics 2017: 254).

< *İd.l* ایدل (12) *bašina čiqdı İd.l* ایدل *başında* > *māqām yurt tutdılar* (Ivanics, Usmanov 2002: 86, 248, 44r 11–12)

(Amet) went out to the source of the *İd.l* and he settled down at the head of the river *İd.l* (Ivanics 2017: 255).

Aq İd.l.dā ایدل *salčī-mān* (Ivanics, Usmanov 2002: 87, 249, 44v3)

I am a raftman on the White *İd.l* (Ivanics 2017: 256).

These parts are from the story of Isaoghli Amet, who was the son of Isa-beg, the son-in-law of Özbeg, and his *ulus emir* (1335–1347). He kidnapped the daughter of Janibeg and married her. Their son was Salčī. Earlier, Janibeg had promised his daughter's hand to Amet, but finally he gave her to someone else to marry. Amet was indignant at this and when the khan Janibeg went out to hunt, he kidnapped the girl and escaped to Züyä-mountain (Züyä = river Sviyaga) near the river Etil. The Khan sent against him an army. At that time, their son was born, but they could not take him with them so they put him in a golden cradle and hid the child among the branches of a tree. After a successful escape Amet settled down near the spring of the Etil. The boy was found by raftsmen from Astrakhan and they gave him to the queen of Astrakhan. When he grew up he wrote a poem mentioning his orphanhood and his different jobs as, among others, raftsmen on the Volga referring to the etymology of his personal name (*salji* ~ *salčī* 'raftman') (Ivanics 2017: 68–69, 126–127).

Baba Tükläs-ning oğli Termä atliğ (21) *erdi bu Termä İdıl* ایدیل *Jayıqda hāşıl boldi anıñ oğli Qazıcı* (22) *atliğ erdi ol hām İd.l* ایدل *Jayıqda hāşıl boldi anıñ oğli Islām Qıya ol* [f.45v] (1) *hām İdıl* ایدیل *Jayıqda hāşıl boldi anıñ oğli Qadir Qıya ol hām İdıl* ایدیل *Jayıqda* (2) *hāşıl boldi* (Ivanics, Usmanov 2002: 88, 249–250, 45r 20–21, 45v 1–2)

The son of Baba Tükläs was called Termä. This Termä settled on the *İdıl* and the Jayıq, his son Qazıcı settled on the *İd.l* and the Jayıq, too, his son Islām Qıya settled on the *İdıl* and the Jayıq, too, his son Qadir Qıya settled on the *İdıl* and the Jayıq, too (Ivanics 2017: 257).

wá} biri-ning atı Termä turar ol hām" İdıl ایدیل *Jayıqda* (10) *hāşıl boldi* (Ivanics, Usmanov 2002: 89, 250, 45v1–2)

(The three sons of Baba Tükläs) one of them was called Termä, he settled on the *İdıl* and the Jayıq, too (Ivanics 2017: 257).

These data are from the tale of Edige-bey. His genealogy is not connected to Chingis Khan, but it reflects an Islamic legitimization coming from Abū Bakr, the first Caliph through his fictive descendent Baba Tükläs who played significant role in the Islamization of the Golden Horde (Ivanics 2017: 65–67).

(5) *Aq Īdīl* ایدیل *ṭamaḡī Qara Ḥān birlä Bogra Ḥān-ning yurtı-dur* (Ivanics, Usmanov 2002: 90, 250, 46r5)

The abode of Qara Ḥān and Boghra Ḥān was at the mouth of the White Īdīl (Ivanics 2017: 259).

The final datum is from the list of rulers and their habitats. The names of the rulers refer to the tradition of the Oghuz-name and they seemed to be legendary figures.

The name Etil appeared first as a river name and later as the name of the Khazar capital at the mouth of the river Volga. The earlier data from the Greek sources were collected by Moravcsik: τῖλ Theophylactus Simocatta; ἄταλ Theophanes; ἀτηλ Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (Moravcsik 1983 II: 78–79). Golden added the forms from Arabo-Persian (ʿ.t.l; *Āt.l* Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal, Muqaddasī, Ibn Rusta, Masʿūdī, Ibn Faḍlān, Yāqūt, Hudūd al-ʿĀlam) Hebrew (ʿ.t. .l; *Āṭīl* Letter of Qaghan Joseph, The Cambridge Document) and Armenian (*Atʿl* Armenian Geography) sources (Golden 1980, I: 224–229). The first component of the Hungarian compound Ἀτελκούζου and Ἐτέλκαι κουζού *Etel* is an Old Turkic loanword in Hungarian mentioned as the habitat of the Hungarians before the conquest of the Carpathian Basin in the work of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (Róna-Tas, Berta 2011: 345–347). The oldest form can be reconstructed as *Ātil* in the West Old Turkic between 7th and 10th centuries. The Hungarian *Etel* is from this West Old Turkic form.

The Volga Bulghar form of this name is reflected in the following sources: Arabic: ʿ.t.l Maḥmūd al-Kāšgharī (1074); Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnatī (c. 1150): (Kaplony 2008: 210; Ferrand 1925: 115); ʿ.t.l Idrīsī (Konovalova 2006: 77, 78, 79, 95, 100, 107); Latin in the Hungarian Kingdom: Anonymus (c. 1200) *Etyl* (SRH I: 41); Riccardus (1235) *Ethyl* (SRH II: 539), Iulianus (1237) *Ethil* (SRH II: 718). The Secret History of the Mongols contains three variants: *Idil*, *Adil*, *Ejil* (Rachewiltz 2006: 960–961) which is explained by Ligeti from *Edil* or *Etil* (Ligeti 1986: 479). Similarly, the early Latin travelers to the Mongol Empire have also *Etil*: Benedictus Polonus *Ethil* = Volga (Sin. Fr. I: 136); Rubruq *Etil* (Sin Fr. I: 195, 210, 223, 315; *Ethil* 205, 212, 216, 313). It was copied by Hungarian which became *Etül* in Hungarian as reflected in the chronicles (Simon de Keza *Etul* = Don SRH I: 145, 146).

I quote the Muslim sources from the Mongol period, compiled by Konovalova and Tiesenhausen.

Arabic	Name	Reference
Ibn Saʿīd (second half 13 th c.)	<i>ʿt.l</i>	Konovalova 2009: 20, 21, ~ al-kabīr ‘Great Etil’ = Volga and ~ al-ṣaġīr ‘Small Etil’ = Lower Don 23, 24; <i>ʿt.l</i> 19; Russian translation: 26, 28, 29, 32, 33
Abū-l-Fidāʾ (1329)	<i>ʿt.l</i>	Konovalova 2009: 96, 98, 105 Russian transl: 113, 117, 126) <i>ʿt.l</i> (95, 98, 104; Russian transl: 112, 117, 124, 125
Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir (d.1239)	<i>ʿt.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2005: 482 ⁹ , Russian transl. 75
Rukn al-Dīn Baybars (d. 1325)	<i>ʿt.l</i> , <i>ʿt.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2005: 489 ⁶ , 505 ⁸ , Russian transl. 89, 107
al-Nuwayrī (d. 1333)	<i>ʿt.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2005: 522 ⁴ , Russian transl. 131
al-Mufaḍḍal (1358)	<i>Īt.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2005: 538 ⁵ , Russian transl. 150
al-ʿUmarī (d. 1349)	<i>Īt.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2005: 554 ^{12,15} , Russian transl. 176
Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 1377)	<i>ʿt.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2005: 592 ¹⁰ , 594 ¹⁶ , 595 ³ Russian transl. 227, 231, 234
Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406)	<i>ʿt.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2005: 625 ² , Russian transl. 272
Persian		
Juwaynī (1260)	<i>ʿt.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2006: Russian transl. 56. 60
Rašīd al-Dīn (1311)	<i>ʿt.l</i>	Ali-Zade 1980: 130, 131; Tizengauzen 2006: Russian transl. 84, 85, 119, 123, 124
Wassāf (1328)	<i>Imul</i>	Tizengauzen 2006: Russian transl. 169
Nizām al-Dīn Šāmī (1404)	<i>Idul</i>	Tizengauzen 2006: Russian transl. 236
Anonym Iskandar (1415)	<i>Īt.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2006: 578 ⁷ Russian transl. 262
Dhayl Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh	<i>ʿt.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2006: 584 ²¹ Russian transl. 277
Šaraf al-Dīn Yazdī (1425)	<i>Imul</i>	Tizengauzen 2006: Russian transl. 324–326, 335, 343–344
Šajarat al-Atrāk (1457)	<i>ʿt.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2006: 605 ⁴ Russian transl. 392
Ġaffarī (1565)	<i>ʿt.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2006: 609 ¹¹ , 611 ³ Russian transl. 402, 404

The Venetian Iosaphath Barbaro (1436–1452) mentioned it as *Ledil*, which can be reconstructed as *Edil* (Skržinskaja 1971: 114; Russian translation 137, comments note 16, 163–164).

The basic form can be reconstructed as *Etil* in the 13th–15th centuries, but there are some data referring to the voicing of the *t* in the middle of the 15th century.

The hydronym in European maps in 15th–17th centuries published by János Tardy shows all forms with *-d-*: *Edil* - Frau Mauro map 1459 (Tardy 1982: 190), Battista Agnese 1525 (Tardy 1982: 197), Anthony Jenkinson 1554–1572 (Tardy 1982: 205), Gerard Mercator 1538, 1587, Rumold Mercator 1595 (Tardy 1982: 210–211), Willem Janszoon 1630 (Tardy 1982: 213); *Edel*, Baron Sigismund Herberstein 1546 (Tardy 1982: 200), Anthony Jenkinson 1554–1572 (Tardy 1982: 205), Abraham Ortelius 1570 (Tardy 1982: 206), Gerard de Jode 1578 (Tardy 1982: 207), Plantius Petrus 1592 (Tardy 1982: 208), Matthias Quad 1600 (Tardy 1982: 212).

The forms in the maps reflect the voicing of the *t* in the 16th century in Volga Kipchak dialects and the variant *Edel* shows the process of reduction (or laxing) of the vowel *i* in the second syllable.

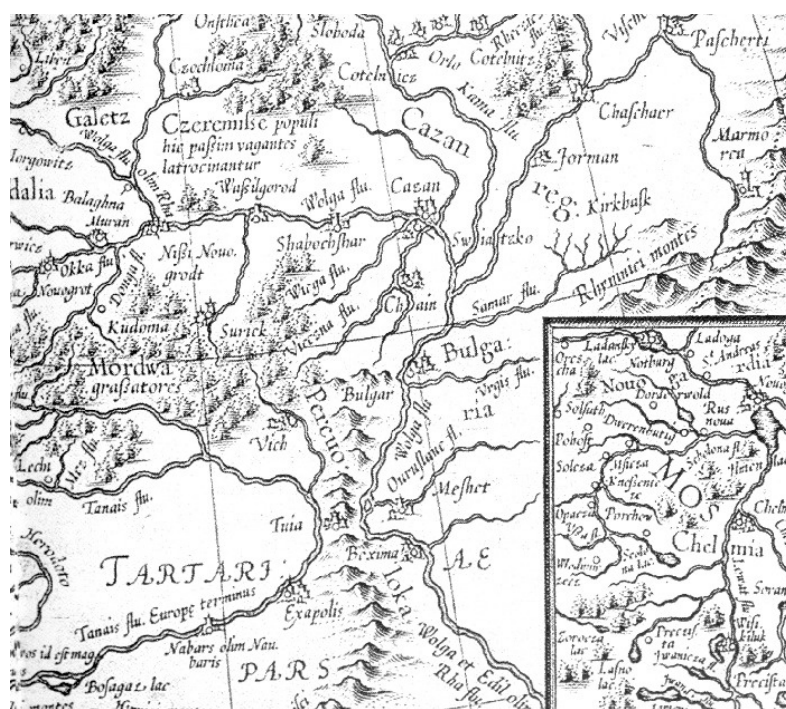


Figure 1 Fragment of the Mercator map 1630 http://tat-map.ru/do1800/_1630.jpg (downloaded 25.05.2020)

I collected some data from the historical works and travelers fixed in the 17th–18th centuries. The Pagan Oghuz-name was written in Uyghur script in the 15th–16th centuries somewhere in Eastern European steppe. It contains the forms *ʼydʼl* and once *ʼdʼl*, which Danka reads as *Etil* (Danka 2019: 86–89, 96–97, 314), but other reconstructions are possible: *Edil*, *Idel*. The Muslim contemporaries of the *Dāftār-i Čingiz-nāmā* are selected to present the variants of the hydronym. The Khanate of Kasimov was the home of Kadir Ali Bey (1602): *ʼt.l* (Alimov 2015: 27⁵, 82, 68). In the middle of the 16th century Ötemiş Hajji wrote his *Qara tawārīkh* in the Khanate of Khiva. He mentioned the river as *ʼIdīl* (Utemiš-hadžī 2017: 18b^{1,5}, 23b¹², 27a^{3, 10, 17}, 44a¹¹, 47a¹⁴, 47b³ (*ʼAydīl*), 53a¹¹, 53b⁸, 55a¹⁴, 61a^{2, 4, 5}, 67b^{6, 7}, 71b^{2,3, 13}); *ʼdīl*, *ʼĀq Īd.l* (Utemiš-hadžī 2017: 16a¹², 76a¹⁴). The Khan of Khiva, Abū-l-Ghāzī (1660) mentioned *ʼĀt.l*, *ʼd.l*, *ʼdīl* (Kononov 1958: 127); *ʼt.l* (Kononov 1958: 294, 297, 1215); *ʼĀt.l* (Kononov 1958: 317, 1317, 1395). I quote the data from the author of the Khanate of Crimea: ʼAbdu-l-Ghaffar Qirimī (1748): *ʼAdīl* (Abdulgaffar Kyrymi 2014: 258a¹, 258b²) *ʼAdīl* without kesra under the *d* (Abdulgaffar Kyrymi 2014: 258b^{7, 22}, 259^{10, 16}, 261a¹⁴, 263a², 267b¹⁴, 268a²², 268b^{6,15}, 270b^{2, 15}, 271b¹, 276a¹⁴, 279b²) *ʼdīl* without kesra under the *d* (Abdulgaffar Kyrymi 2014: 258b¹⁸, 266a⁸, 273b^{4, 7, 8, 11}, 277b²², 278a², 278b¹⁰, 282b¹⁷, 284a²⁰).

In 1733/4 under the leadership of Gerhard Friedrich Müller an Academic research group visited the Volga region travelling to Siberia. Müller wrote about the peoples of the Volga region. He noted that the river Vyatka is called *Naukrat Idel* by the Tatars and the meaning of *Idel* is ‘river’. Another example is the Kama which is named as *Čolman Idel*. The Tatars called the Volga *Idel*. There are Tatar dialectal forms: *Atel* and *Etel* and the Kalmyk variant is *Ečil*. The Chuvash *Adal* is the equivalent of the Tatar *Idel* and *Atel* whereas the Kama is called by them *Šorog Adal* i.e. ‘white river’ (Müller 1759: 337–338; Skvorcov 2001: 109–110, comments 139–140).

In modern Volga Turkic languages, the hydronym is well-known. Garipova wrote a monograph on the Tatar hydronyms. The Tatar *Idel* as an appellative means ‘great river’, the term *Idel yort* is used as designation of the Bulgar and Kipchak states on the river Idel. *Ana Idel* ‘Mother Idel’ *Idel su* ‘Idel water’ is well-known in Tatar folksongs and legends. As an appellative it is used with other names of the rivers: *Čulman idele*, *Kama idele* ‘Kama’, *Vyatka idele*, *Nokrat idele* ‘Vyatka’ *Ak Idel* ‘White River, Kama’. The name *Idel* is known as the name of villages and microtoponyms and personal names by itself or in compounds (Garipova 1991: 121–122). The modern Tatar form can be reconstructed as the analogy of the following parallels: Volga Kipchak *ešik* > Tatar: *išēk* ‘door’; Volga Kipchak *jeti* > Tatar: *jidē* ‘7’; Volga Kipchak *sekiz* > Tatar: *sigēz* ‘8’; Volga Kipchak *elli* > Tatar: *illē* ‘50’ (Berta 1989: 61, 162, 207, 268). The Middle Kipchak form in the Volga region was *Etil* in the 13th–15th centuries, the voicing of the *t* started in the 15th century it followed by the reduction of the *i* in the second syllable, finally the initial *e* changed to *i*: *etil* > MKipchak *etil* > *edil* > *edīl* > Tatar: *idēl*. The Bashkir *iđel* is the result of the same process.

There are widely used forms in historical and even linguistic works: *Idil* and *Itil*. Togan and following him Ligeti called the attention to the fact that these forms were used by the Kazan Orientalists, especially Fraehn (Ligeti 1986: 479). The *Idil* reflects the transliteration of the form with Arabic script: *Īd.l* ايدل or *Īdīl* ايديل, which is almost identical with the modern Tatar pronunciation *Idəl*. Following this tradition, the form of *ʿt.l* in the Muslim sources of the 9th–15th centuries was transcribed as *Itil*. These variants are ghost-words, and it is better the use the term *Etil* or the modern Tatar form *Idel*.

The Chagatay Turkic texts (e.g. Abū-l-Ghāzī) reflect the original Middle Turkic vowels and the voicing of the consonant *t*.

The Chuvash *Atāl* [*Adāl*] can be reconstructed on the analogy of the West Old Turkic word *ālik* ‘door’ cf. East Old Turkic and Middle Kipchak *ešik*. The Volga Bulgar dialect 3 had the form *ālik*, which became *ālīk* in the first phase of Middle Chuvash, *alīk* in the second period and finally *alāk* in modern Chuvash (Agyagási 2019: 236).

The reconstruction of the Turkic forms:

WOT **etil* ~ **ätīl* > VB **ätīl* > MChuvash1 **ätīl* > MChuvash2 **atīl* > Chuvash *atāl*

→ H **etil* > *etel*

EOT **etil* > MKipchak **etil* > *edil* > *eḍil* > Tatar: *idəl*, Bashkir *iḍel*

> Chagatay *edil*

→ Kalmyk *idžl*

→ H *etül*

In the text of the *Däftär-i Ćingiz-nāmā* the hydronym *Etil* has two attributives: *Ulu Idel* and *Aq Idel*. Mária Ivanics noted that the *Aq Idel* is the Belaya, whereas the *Idel* may refer to the Volga or the Belaya (Ivanics 2017, 246, note 586; 255, note 627). Schramm reconstructed a system in which the *Qara* or *Ulu Idel* was identical with the Volga, whereas *Ak* or *Small Idel* was a term for the Belaya and lower Kama (Schramm 1973, 121; Podosinov 1999:46, Göckenjan 2003–2004: 165). According to Garipova the peoples of the Middle Volga region called the main river as *Aq Idel*, *Nokrat Idel* (Vyatka), *Kük Idel* (Upper Volga), *Kara Idel* (Ufa), *Čulman* (Kama) were tributaries of the *Aq Idel* (Garipova 1991:122).

N. I. Egorov wrote comments regarding Müller’s description and he noted that the Chuvash and their predecessors used *Aslā Atāl* ‘Great Volga’ for the water system including the Belaya-Lower Kama – Lower Volga. Its upper part was called *Šurā Atāl* ‘Belaya – Lower Kama’, and the Lower Volga was called the *Kāvak Atāl*. Its tributary was the *Xura Atāl* ‘Upper Volga’ (Skvorcov 2001: 140, notes 92, 93). Semenova wrote a dissertation on Chuvash hydronyms. She has the following data: *Vilē Atāl* ‘the old riverbed of the Volga’; *Kāvak Atāl* ‘Blue Volga’ (used only in

folksongs); *Kěšēn Atāl* ‘Small Volga’; *Mǎn Atāl* ‘Great Volga’; *Šurǎ Atāl* ‘Belaya-Lower Kama’ (Semenova 2005). According to Ligeti *Atāl* means Volga in Chuvash, *Xura Atāl* ‘Black Etil’ appeared only in folksongs and *Šurǎ Atāl* is ‘Belaya-Lower Kama’ (Ligeti 1986: 479).

The Bashkir toponymic dictionary contains the following data: *Agiḍel* ‘White Etil’ is the official Russian Belaya, the greatest river of Bashkiria. In Bashkir folklore, literature and everyday usage it is called *Iḍel*. In the 16th–17th centuries Russian literature the river is called *Belaya Voložka*. There are two other compounds with colours: *Kariḍel* (*Kara+iḍel*) ‘Black Etil’ is the river Ufa, the right tributary of the Belaya, but it is used as the name of Kama, too. *Kügiḍel* ‘Blue Etil’ is the river Demy, the right tributary of the Belaya. The Kama is called as *Sulman Iḍel*, *Iḍel* and *Kariḍel* (STB 18–19, 70, 79, 90).

There are two possibilities to reconstruct the river system on the basis of the analogies. The river Irtysh is divided into an Upper section called White Irtysh which flows into the Lake Zaysan and Lower part called Black Irtysh from Zaysan to the estuary. The other possibility can be the example of the Hungarian river Körös. The rivers Black Körös and White Körös originated in Transylvania, their confluence is near the town Gyula and from it to the estuary it is called Körös. In the first case the White Etil is the Belaya – Lower Kama – Lower Volga until the estuaries of the Ufa (Bashkir: *Kariḍel*) or Kama (up to the confluence with Belaya) or the upper Volga (from the confluence with the Kama). As for the second analogy the White Etil is the Belaya – Lower Kama, the Black Etil is the Upper Volga and Etil is from the confluence of the Volga and the Kama to the Caspian Sea. The central territory of the Volga Bulgar state in the 10th–13th centuries was south and southwest of the Volga–Kama estuary, whereas the capital of the Khanate of Kazan was transferred to the north of the Kama. The modern state of Tatarstan inherited the territory of the Khanate of Kazan, the Bashkirs lived east of them, and the Chuvash west of them. The original concept used by the Volga Bulgars may have been altered through the adoption of new habitats by the Tatars, Bashkirs and Chuvash.

Trepavlov noted that the Etil occurs in pairs with river Yayıq (Ural) in historical and folklore texts. Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentioned that the Pechenegs lived on the Etil and Yayıq. Abū-l-Ghāzī (1660) recorded that Yaphet settled on the river Etil with Yayıq in his Oghuz name (Kononov 1958: 127). In the Tatar historical tradition, i.e. *Kunak babay žyrdy* and *Idegey* the two rivers appeared in pairs. The Etil and Yayıq are brother and sister in the Bashkir legends (Trepavlov 2002: 143–144). In addition, in the Secret History of the Mongols the river Etil was also mentioned together with the Yayıq.

In a recent article I studied the river Etil in the Muslim maps of Ibn Hawqal, Maḥmūd al-Kāšgharī and al-Idrīsī. The maps and descriptions reflect a waterway commercial network called Etil originating from Central Asia via Siberia to the Volga–Kama region, a northern way on the Kama and perhaps the Vyatka, and a northeastern network including the Oka, Unzha and upper Volga. From its central region including the territory of Volga Bulgaria, the lower Volga reached the

Caspian Sea where via the Volga–Don portage it followed the lower Don until its estuary flowing into the Sea of Azov (Zimonyi 2020: 135–155).

In conclusion, the Etil in the *Dāftār-i Ćingiz-nāmā* can be reconstructed as *Edīl* or *Idēl*. The *Uluĝ Edīl* in the first paragraph can be identified as the Volga north of the Kama estuary reflected in the Tatar tradition and the context refers to the territory where the Chuvash live. The *Aq Edīl* is the Belaya-Lower Kama in paragraphs 4 and 7. The Etil and Yayik together in paragraphs 5 and 6 refer to the steppe between the Lower Volga and the river Ural. The *Edīl* meant Volga south of the Samara knee in these cases. In paragraph 2, the first element of the Züyä mountain can be identified with the Sviyaga, the right tributary of the Volga and the *Edīl* must have been the Volga north of the Kama confluence. Mária Ivanics noted that the river *Edīl* in paragraph 3 can be identified with the Belaya (Ivanics 2017: 255, note 627). So, the hydronym *Edīl* may have been used for the whole river-system.

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